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THE
AFRICAN REPOSITORY,
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COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. IX.]

APRIL, 1833.

[No. 2.

REVIEW.

[From the *American Quarterly Review*.]

The Speech of Thomas Marshall, in the House of Delegates of Virginia, on the Abolition of Slavery. Delivered, Friday, January 20, 1832. Richmond: pp. 12.

[CONCLUDED.]

II. The practicability of greatly diminishing the evil of slavery, in Virginia. Are these ills incurable? Or if they can never be wholly remedied, may their disproportionate progress not be checked? May they not in fact be diminished?

Before we proceed to speak of any particular plan for effecting this, let us briefly recount the objects which are proposed to be accomplished by any such schemes. It is expected to afford sensible relief to Virginia by withdrawing her slave labour, and substituting free labour in its place, by the superior cheapness and efficiency of which an impulse will be given to the inertness of the principles of prosperity. It builds on the supposition that the State can afford the gradual withdrawal of her present labour, which it has been fully shown can never prove profitable to her, (though it may to other States), and that she can afford it, because she has immense capabilities which could not fail to draw to her an adequate supply of productive labour, of a very different class, which would more than compensate her for the loss of the former. It counts on the hope of rearing in Virginia and inviting from abroad a yeomanry to till the large plantations of the rich proprietors, but much more to give new life to her husbandry, by the introduction of a large class of diligent faithful small farmers not interested to impoverish the soils further, but who would soon repair their present decay. It cherishes the hope of creating an extensive class of mechanics, and of tempting the establishment of manufactures; and, by a general revivification of the habits and spirit of the State, to build up cities, and render Virginia one of the most flourishing, as she is perhaps the most favoured, of all the Atlantic States. It is to be hoped that a fund for compensating the individual masters may be obtained, and thus that value in hand may be left, at the same time that the

slaves are withdrawn; yet so thorough is the conviction of the ruinous character (in an economical view) of exclusive slave labour to Virginia, that it is believed, if the masters could be tempted to a gradual deportation of the slaves, without a farthing of compensation from government, there would be ultimate gain, and not loss, from it. The very last cases to which we would compare such gradual withdrawal, of what is in fact not a source of wealth, would be the expulsion of the eight hundred thousand Jews from Spain under Ferdinand and Isabella, or that of nearly a million of Moors under Philip III., or that of the Huguenots from France; in all which cases the persons expelled carried with them greater personal wealth in proportion to their number, finer skill, and more thriving habits than were left behind them, besides that in them, the expulsion was virtually immediate. Such comparisons, to say the least, are not supported by very cogent analogies.

We are fully persuaded ourselves that the emancipation of the slaves, and their transportation out of the limits of the State, will be the only mode of action on the subject which will be beneficial either to the blacks or the whites. We too, are of opinion that a general emancipation of the slaves, on the supposition of their remaining principally among us, would engender evils, the aggregate of which would be greater than all the evils of slavery, great as they unquestionably are.* We shall therefore make no further allusion to this idea.

We think that most of the arguments of the opponents of all action, on the ground of its futility, err from a mistake of the terms of the problem. The problem is not, with those projectors who offer no compensation to the masters, to prevail on Virginia to deprive herself in one day of one hundred millions of property, and to expel from her borders at once half a million of labouring hands. This would indeed be ruin to every class of interests, and would be an impossibility in terms. Still it is pretended that a gradual plan for the same object, no matter how slow and how wisely directed, though it operate not on the certain interests but the contingent, not on the actual but the potential, no matter though, by asking a small sacrifice to-day, it give ample opportunity, and put in the master's reach new means, of making the future sacrifices supportable, yet that it makes no difference; that it implies the total wreck of that amount of capital, and the loss of that amount of productive labour. Now, we humbly conceive that time is of the very essence of a problem like this. It is true that in any view of the case, some sacrifice would be involved, but we wholly reject the idea that it rises to that degree. On the other hand, when compensation is talked of as possible, it is not meant by any one that there is any fund in America which could purchase at once, at the actual price, all the slaves in Virginia and transport them. The proposition we mean to discuss is, to relieve the State of the annual increase of the blacks, with the hope of benefit in a double aspect: first, by keeping the black population stationary to check the *increase* of the evils and dangers; second, to prepare in this way a method of finally extirpating the great evil itself. But the pecuniary amount of this annual sacrifice (supposing such sacrifice to be supported wholly by her own means, or to be gratuitous) is by no means the measure of the loss to be suffered by Virginia. The loss to the wealth of the whole State from the abstraction annually of five or six thousand slaves, productive as they are of mischiefs of an economical nature, may not be at the time very great, and in a very few years may, by countervailing benefits, not otherwise to be obtained, be rendered merely nominal.

* While this is true of African slaves in a community of white men of the European species, we are by no means persuaded that such would be the necessary result in a case of masters and bondsmen of the same race. Such we know is not the opinion of German statisticians or the experiments of the last forty years in middle and eastern Europe. English travellers have treated of the Teutonic and Slavonic sections of Europe (the last are not to be studied rightly except through the medium of German books and the German language,) with a wrong headedness only equalled by their fashion of travel-writing in the unlucky United States; always except Russel's Tour in Germany.

For ourselves, we desire to be distinctly understood to dissent from the opinion of Mr. Faulkner and others, *that property is the creature of civil society*, and from all the consequences deduced therefrom as means of arriving at the authority to deprive the master of his slave. Nor do we consider, however perfect the right of a community to abate nuisances, that the right of peremptory action on this subject can well be rested on that ground. Nor yet do we consider that the requirement of the Bill of Rights of Virginia, that private property shall not be taken for public uses without due compensation, is to be evaded by the plea of public necessity: the provision of the Bill of Rights (which in this case is merely declaratory of the law of nature) is intended as well for exigencies as for common occasions, and is meant to be equally sovereign over both. Necessity gives the public a right to take private property—this is undeniable; but under condition of compensation. If compensation cannot be made to-day, it is due to-morrow; if impossible for the present generation, it is just to impose a share of it on posterity; if it cannot be made in full measure, it is at least due so far as it can be made. This we take to be the rationale of the operation of the right of necessity. We will tell these gentlemen, that there is one ground, and only one, which could ever be a logical justification (we do not speak of its moral propriety) for peremptorily depriving the master of his slaves without compensation: any such bill must make its own defence by reciting, in its preamble, that the claim of property in slaves is unfounded. But we, for our part, earnestly hope that no one may ever think any such law expedient.

We also decline assenting to the opinion of some of the abolitionists, that, though the master's right over his living slaves should be conceded, yet he has no claim of property in the unborn, for the reason that there can be no property in a thing not *in esse*. This position is wholly untenable under any jurisprudence. All systems lay it down that there may be a present right to a future interest: it is potential if not actual, and is many times saleable for a valuable consideration. The civilians treat the increase of slaves as precisely on the footing of the fruits of any other *thing*. Let it be avowed, then, that the State has only a right to do with the future increase what it has a right to do with the living slaves. We do agree, however, that the public mind will be much more ready to yield to a plan, which is to begin its operation with the children yet to be born, than if it began with the slaves now existing.—The difference between the potential value of these contingent births and the value of actual lives, it is superfluous to say, is very great. Mr. Jefferson had the true view of it, when he said, the sacrifice would not be felt to be very great, being the surrender "of an object which they have never yet known to counted as part of their property."

Having made these disclaimers, we venture to lay down some principles of our own. First, it is to be assumed that no human being has an abstract right to hold another in a state of perpetual involuntary bondage, much less with a descending power over the posterity of that other. It is quite impossible to conceive of any rational being's holding the contrary of this proposition. No two men could look each other in the face and assert it. This truth being postulated, its proper use is not to lay it aside and never let it be remembered again in the course of an argument on the subject of abolition.—Our adversaries in words universally admit it as readily as we demand its acknowledgment. But almost the whole train of their reasoning involves a total forgetfulness of it. The true use of it is to introduce the element of moral duty into the problem of the economist, and to furnish the *motif* of virtue, as one of the ways and means in solving the complication of difficulties, which appear to obstruct all the plans of abolition that can be proposed. While, then, we promised not to claim a sacrifice to mere abstract justice, we can by no means consent to its being wholly cast out of view. We hope to be pardoned for adding here, that should Dr. Whateley ever have a clever disciple in logic in America, we trust he will favour us with a treatise on the true functions of general truths in moral reasoning. We really believe that there

are some politicians in our country, who could be persuaded to define abstract principles, to be propositions which are true in terms, but false in every conceivable instance of their application! Second, we admit, nay we will maintain against any adversary, the innocence of slaveholding, under present circumstances, in Virginia. But it is with this qualification: we have always held the opinion that almost every master in Virginia believed it his duty to emancipate his slaves, whenever he was convinced that it could be done to the advantage of the slave, and without greater injury to the master than is implied in the continuance of the bondage. Such we still believe to be the general sentiment there. If there be a single owner who neither hopes that, in some future day, this occasion may occur to him or his posterity, nor intends should it occur to avail himself of it, then we must confess that we cannot hold his sentiment to be entirely innocent. We defy contradiction when we say that in Virginia, from the year 1776 down to 1832, the prevalent sentiment ever has been that slavery was not entailed on the State for ever. None of her economists has ever defended the abstract right over the slaves, none has ever been willing to believe in the perpetuity of slavery, as far as we know, except that Mr. Giles has expressed in his golden casket (*mons a non movendo*) certain opinions which are, it must be admitted, incompatible with the future possibility of renouncing the dominion over them. Third, we admit that slavery does not exist in Virginia in any thing like the rigour which some misguided persons connect with the very idea of slavery. An inhuman master is rare, and cruelty to slaves is as little habitual as other crimes. But if an anti-abolitionist who regards domestic slavery as the optimum among good institutions, while asserting the benign and sacred character of the relation of master and slave as observed in Virginia, should boast that Virginia is "in fact, a *negro raising* State for other States," and that "she produces enough for her own supply and six thousand for sale," we must say that this is a material subtraction from the truth of his picture of the sanctity of the relation. It would be well to recall it and thrust it out of view.

We proceed now to speak of the practicability of devising some plan for the relief of the State. One main point to be gained is this: that the people of Virginia be impressed with a thorough conviction of the exceeding desirableness and the urgent necessity of *doing something promptly*. The great triumph will be when, on the fullest view of the present interests, moral and economical, of this generation, and of its duty to the posterity who are to inherit the "fee simple" of Virginia, there shall be, in the minds of a great majority, the clear and unalterable opinion that slavery is not a source of prosperity to her, and that it will not do for this generation to attempt nothing to bring about a change.

Another great point is, *that some plan be adopted with the sanction of the State*. It is of vastly more importance to the final deliverance of the State, that a mode be selected and come forth to the world with the crowning sanction of the State, than it is what that mode may be. For, it is certain that the public opinion, thus solemnly announced, will be an instrument for the execution of the plan, the power of which we cannot exaggerate to ourselves. The public once predisposed to its success, half the task is done.—This brings us at once to the consideration of the first among our ways and means for diminishing the evils of slavery: the moral elements which will be at work for its accomplishment. These elements are powers as well known in political economy as others which seem more substantial. We utterly protest against this question being argued as if the emancipation were in fact a mere money speculation, and the success of the adopted plan were to rise and fall according as its pecuniary temptations were greater or less than those from some other accidental quarter—as if there were no other reasons likely to have the slightest effect on the master, but such as went to show that he was thereby to make a good bargain, so far as his poor, circumscribed, present and personal interest was concerned. It will be monstrous indeed, if, in

a problem like the present, of which the very terms are instinct with moral forces, a calculator should leave wholly out of his estimate of means of working it, the value of a little virtue, a slight sense of justice, and a grain of common honesty, as agents. It is most true that we too propose to advance the interests of those who now hold slaves, and believe that this will be effectually done by some radical plan of emancipation: but it is by the help of the moral considerations that the masters must be led to look on their higher and ultimate interests as worthy of some sacrifice of present inferior interests.— We readily assent to the opinion that the enthusiasm of abstract virtue is not the true temper in which a great work, like the present, should be undertaken, or carried on; and we cannot more distinctly express our views on the matter, than by citing the following passage from the *African Repository* of September 1827:

“This is not the age of enthusiasm: far from it. Too large a part of the talent of the age is devoted to caricature, to ridicule; and what is more, too large a part of the good sense and good learning of the day is in the hands of those who look for the ludicrous part of every plan, by much too large to permit the public mind to be heated with unnecessary zeal, even in the best cause, or to uphold for a long time any grave farce. It is the age of practical reason, of great moral truths rigidly established by cool practical experiment, the age which has relieved human nature from the apprehension that any of the baneful evils in society are sealed and fated on us by our own imbecility, by proofs which are intended for the most plodding, the most determined enemies of novelty. Enthusiasm is not fit to be trusted with any great scheme, unsteady, blind, and indiscriminating as it is. The most anxious zealot is little wise who would not rather trust his cherished plans to that state of devotion to principle so naturally rising up in this age, which, tempered by prudence and restrained by fear of the charge of absurdity, takes its course calm, collected, and like the cloud of the poet, ‘moveth altogether, if it move at all.’ Public opinion and public feeling, when thus informed, are indeed the voice of *God*.”

But we must be understood to be far from deeming lightly of the power of philanthropy. A senator from South Carolina once said with much piquancy, that “benevolence somehow was rather an unsuccessful adventure in the south.” There, as elsewhere, avarice and ambition seem to come of a healthier stock, and last their day and generation: but do not let us libel poor nature in the south so scandalously as to suppose that when the disinterested feelings are in question, “there is no throb under the left breast,” as Persius has it. It was hitherto said that avarice has been more successfully pelted by the satirists than any other passion; but we doubt if philanthropy has not had quite a sufficient share of worrying. We do not love to see any one succeed in discrediting all reliance on philanthropy. Whether philanthropy has ever proved competent to carry through, unassisted, any one great work, matters very little: it is happily the fact that it rarely fails of commanding a thousand auxiliary interests to lend it subsidy. But among the successful agents in any undertaking for ameliorating the condition of human life, one of the chief, and that which could least be spared, will always, as hitherto, prove to be those feelings which are founded in sympathy for others, and in a sense of duty. “Many,” says an English moralist with great force, “are the modes of evil—many the scenes of human suffering; but if the general condition of man is ever to be ameliorated, it can only be through the medium of belief in human virtue.” But even suppose that all change in the world is to be effected merely by the triumph of one sort of interest over another. What then? We need but ask of our theorists of human nature, that we be permitted to believe that man’s selfishness is distinguished from that of the brutes by a power of large discourse in his calculations; that he is capable of balancing a contingent interest against one certain, a future interest against a present; that he is capable of weighing one species of valuable interest, such as money, against another, such as the acquisition of moral habits which would prove in their turn more profitable; that he is capable of the conception that individual interest is often best promoted by generosity to one’s country; and that it is one of the commonest of human propensities to be prodigal of wealth, of ease, and of life, for the welfare or the honour of one’s country, so that the age which is to come after may not receive an in-

heritance profaned by hereditary disgrace. Give us these capacities in human nature, and upon them we will build you up a hope for the noblest undertakings. But were we to suppose a large body of men elevated to this *enlightened pitch of self-interest*, and united for some great purpose, we much fear that we should be parasitical enough to offer them the adulation of ascribing to them a spirit a little more disembodied than selfishness—"of the earth, earthy." If it be meant to assert, that the immediate and personal interests are the only safe reliances in any problem of human action, we boldly deny the assertion. Remote, prospective interests have often been the dominant motives over a whole nation. But the labours of mere philanthropy have been, in fact, invaluable, and when combined with the holy impulse of conscience, it has proved in our own day, that it is capable of success in enterprises of the vastest scope, and beset with the most obstinate difficulties.

By the aid of these moral elements, we are able to dissipate the apprehension which has been expressed by some, lest, even if the number of five or six thousand were annually deported, it should be found that the operation proved wholly nugatory, *under the stimulated influence of the spring of population*. Some have imagined, that, if government were possessed of means to compensate the masters, at the present average price of slaves, the desire of government to purchase would elevate the price beyond the natural value, and that consequently the *raising* of them would become an object of primary importance throughout the State, thus inducing a general resort to every means of rendering the race more prolific. It might be answered, first, that to those who know the state of things in this respect in Virginia, it would seem not easy, even for Euler himself, to imagine more liberal encouragement than is at present afforded to the blacks. Besides, it by no means appears that the best way to succeed in giving a perfect elasticity (a property in practical mechanics hitherto wanting) to this delicate spring, would be to devise special plans for its improvement. Any increased propensity to promiscuous intercourse would of course not add very much to the production. But all this objection is futile in the extreme. If the day is ever to arrive when a bill is to pass the Virginia Legislature for the purchase and deportation of the annual surplus, it will naturally be an expression of the sentiments of the State, that slavery is an evil to the commonwealth. No one will thank the Legislature for passing a bill through the forms under favour of accidental circumstances, whereby the public sentiment is not embodied, and a large majority of the citizens pledged to a hearty co-operation in its execution. Surely we must be pardoned for saying that we shall on no account believe that every scheme which ingenious cupidity can contrive to render its operation nugatory, will be unscrupulously resorted to throughout the State. That some slaveholders would avail themselves of the most immoral means of encouraging the spring of population, and thus *pro tanto* thwart the law, may of course be expected, but never that such shifts would be the general resort.* It is superfluous to add, that such a moral phenomenon would itself point out the remedy, which would be found in a different tone of legislation.

While we are on this head, (the probability of such a law's proving nugatory,) we may notice another objection. It has been said, as we have already noticed, that Virginia produces enough slaves for her own supply, and six thousand for sale. It may be subjoined to that statement, that, if motives of humanity did not prevent many masters from selling negroes who could most advantageously be spared, she would be able to sell five times that number, were there purchasers for them. Now, suppose the government of Virginia

* It is no reply to this to say that such an abolition bill will only pass by being forced on eastern Virginia by the valley and western Virginia. The whole argument assumes that the State has a fair compensation to offer to the master; for the quickening of the spring is to be occasioned by a great market demand. When compensation becomes possible, the east will be as willing to yield as the west. Moreover, in any form of abolition, it is a woful delusion to suppose that the parties for and against the movement will be all the non-slaveholders on the one side, and all the slaveholders on the other. Did we not think it indecent to speak of divisions in the State, we would say we have entire reliance on middle Virginia, as well as the valley and the west.

enters the slave market resolved to purchase six thousand for emancipation and deportation, is it not evident, they say, that it must overbid the southern slave trader, and thus take the very slaves who would have gone to the south? Not in the least likely. The average estimate of \$200 per head, has been made under the stimulus of a large demand from the south, as great as it is ever likely to be hereafter, (doubtless greater,) and of the competition of slave traders in every parish. The price of slaves in Virginia has always been regulated more by foreign demand (of late years, entirely regulated by it) than by the home value. In this situation of things, if a new buyer were to come into the market (we blush to use these words as applied to the operation of the government under the beneficent law of which we are speaking) resolved to buy at any cost every slave whom any owner might be desirous of selling, it is true that the slaves who would else have been sent to the south, would, among the rest, fall into his hands. But were our new buyer only resolved to purchase as many as six thousand, and the southern traders were desirous of buying six thousand more, it would only be for the former to wait till the demand of the latter was supplied, and then buy his own number; for, as soon as the inducement of the not inhuman destination of the slaves, who might be sold to the new buyer, had been brought into play, we dare say that Virginia would willingly, as she well could, spare twelve thousand per annum at the same price. This shows at once, that as long as the demand exists in the south, the due quota can be annually furnished from Virginia, and that this drain for the relief of Virginia will not *in this way* be stopped. Thus much to show that putting money into the hands of the State, to purchase from willing masters, would not at least prove nugatory by merely enabling the State—*actum agere*—to buy the very slaves, none other, who would otherwise have departed from the State. The fund will manifestly act as auxiliary to the operations of the southern traders, and in the precise measure of its magnitude will extend additional relief to the overburdened State. It is not irrational to suppose, if the State were to fix a fair maximum price, beyond which it would not buy, that it would find many more slaves offered at that price than it could yearly take, and thus masters would come to offer them at even lower than the average price. Should, unhappily for Virginia, (for however mortifying it is, this outlet is her only safety valve at present) the southern markets ever be closed by the legislation of the southern States, then we may indeed thank the supposed fund for supplying their place. If no substitute for that outlet be then found, the present sources of danger and ruin are frightfully increased indeed!

We confess that we count largely on the operation of the moral elements to induce many masters to surrender their slaves voluntarily and gratuitously, if the State would provide the means of colonizing them out of the United States. In the year 1816, when slave labour was infinitely more profitable than it is now, as all know from the inflated prices of tobacco, &c. &c., Mr. Randolph of Roanoke, who is, perhaps, better qualified to speak for the slaveholders of Virginia than any other man, said,—“if a place could be provided for their reception and a mode of sending them hence, there were hundreds, nay thousands, who would by manumitting their slaves, relieve themselves from the cares attendant on their possession.” We repeat most emphatically the declaration of General Brodnax, and add that there can be no mistake in asserting that “there would be again another class, (he had already heard of many) while they could not afford to sacrifice the entire value of their slaves, would cheerfully compromise with the State for half of their value.”

It is not denied by us, too, that the adoption of some plan with the sanction of the State will have the moral effect (not to excite a feeling of insecurity and apprehension as to this kind of property, and so incline the owners to dispose of it at a loss)—but to weaken the almost exclusive attachment of the master to this species of property, to make him cast about for means of making his other resources more available, and to set him upon certain broad and liberal calculations, whereby he may satisfy himself that more prosperous and

more valuable interests may be had in exchange for this property. In the beginning, and for several years, there would, we do not doubt, be as many furnished for transportation (exclusive of the present free blacks) as would be wanted, without any cost for their freedom; and after the experiment of colonizing a large number annually is fairly tried with success, then we would draw to an almost unlimited amount on this bank of humanity without fear of protest.

Will any one say that the inefficiency of moral restraints to check commercial cupidity, is shown in the impossibility of checking the African slave trade? We reply, that we know that this impossibility was urged as one of the best reasons against its prohibition by laws in England and other countries; but that it was clearly wise nevertheless to prohibit it, for the following if for no other reason: the law would effectually prevent all men who were not desperately depraved from lending their future countenance to it. It is known that men like the excellent Mr. Newton of Olney were owners of slave ships—the public voice of Christian England once expressed, such men and all others with a single spark of virtue, abjured it for ever, and left it to pirates alone. Besides, even as to this example, we are content to say, that in America, with a coast the most tempting in the world to smugglers, yet since 1808 we are not aware that attempts have been made to violate the laws against the introduction of slaves from Africa. Indeed we hope that Edwards's apprehension, that their importation into the West Indies could never be stopped, has not proved altogether just as to the British possessions.

But it is time to proceed to the other means, on which we rely, for the liberation of Virginia from her exigency, and in so doing to unfold more distinctly what practicable mode of action there is. Once for all, we declare that we have, however, no confidence in any plan except under condition that it be accompanied with the public favour: if the people of Virginia really desire relief from their slaves, we believe most solemnly that it can be obtained without ruinous consequences to themselves. Touching the specific project of Mr. T. J. Randolph, we refer to what we have already cursorily said, both as to the reasoning by which some have supported it, and as to the merit of the conception of beginning with the after born. We believe that means may be found to colonize the annual surplus of the slaves of Virginia, and to purchase such a portion of that surplus as it may be necessary to purchase.

The annual increase of slaves in Virginia (leaving out of view the 6000 supposed to be taken off to the southern markets) is less than 5000. If this number of slaves be valued at the average of 200 dollars per head, the sum necessary to purchase them will be about a million of dollars. To defray the expense of their deportation to Africa and subsistence there for some months will, on the satisfactory calculation of Mr. Matthew Carey, to which we must refer, at 25 dollars per head for adults and children, require 125,000 dollars—add to which the cost of deportation of 1200 free blacks (their annual increase,) 30,000 dollars, and we have the sum of 150,000 dollars. That the State of Virginia has no possible means of purchasing 5000 slaves *per annum* is obvious. But were the entire cost that of transportation only, 150,000 dollars, we should insist that the Legislature take it into serious consideration how far that expense exceeds its means. In any event, our adversaries will allow us to set down the item of transportation to the charge of the State: if this be all, it is to offer no insurmountable embarrassment. Perhaps it may be thought best to deport the free negroes first, and then the whole expense is that of transportation. Where, however, shall we find that greater fund which will presently be needed for the purchase of the surplus of the slaves, and before long for the purchase of a part of the capital number? There is not far off a fund to which we believe our eyes may be turned. We have come to the conclusion that such a fund is the proceeds of the public lands in the Treasury of the General Government; and we do now invite the friends of the removal and colonization of the negroes to fix hereafter their thoughts and

to press their pretensions on this fund. The annual income to government from the public lands is now estimated at three millions. Let one-third of this amount be demanded for this object, *to be under the entire management of the State authorities.*

In coincidence with the known opinion of Virginia, we are not willing to demand a simple appropriation of money from Congress. But we are inclined to think, that an appropriation from the receipts of the public lands would not be liable to the constitutional objection, which would forbid a grant of money raised by taxes. The public lands belong to the United States in absolute ownership; as to that part of the public domain obtained by cession from the States themselves, it will be found that the Acts of Cession uniformly declare that the territory is given "as a common fund for the use and benefit" of the United States. Such are the words of the Acts of Virginia, New York, and Georgia. The grants of the two former were made during the time of the old Confederation; of the latter, subsequently. In the Constitution of the United States it is provided that "Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States." This certainly seems to import a complete right to grant the public lands, under the sole condition that it shall be faithfully and *bona fide* for the common use and benefit. And we are free to confess, that we should regard the temporary appropriation of the proceeds of the public lands, to one embodied purpose that might be said to come up to the definition "for the common use and benefit" of all the States, as a more faithful execution of the condition, than the distribution of the same to the States for application to any purpose in their discretion. The lands have hitherto been pledged for the public debt, but are soon to be released. It will then remain a question, whether the removal of the negroes deserves to be termed a measure demanded for the common benefit of the United States? We have an unfeigned respect for constitutional scruples, but we are not ambitious ourselves of entertaining more scruples than Mr. Madison.— Let us hear then what that greatest living authority says upon the subject, in his letter to Mr. Gurley, of December last:—

"In contemplating the pecuniary resources needed for the removal of such a number to so great a distance, my thoughts and hopes have been long turned to the rich fund presented in the western lands of the nation, which will soon entirely cease to be under a pledge for another object. The great one in question is truly of a national character, and it is known that distinguished patriots not dwelling in slave-holding States have viewed the object in that light, and would be willing to let the national domain be a resource in effecting it. Should it be remarked that the States, though all may be interested in relieving our country from the coloured population, are not equally so; it is but fair to recollect, that the sections most to be benefited are those whose cessions created the fund to be disposed of. I am aware of the constitutional obstacle which has presented itself; but if the general will should be reconciled to an application of the territorial fund to the removal of the coloured population, a grant to Congress of the necessary authority could be carried, with little delay, through the forms of the Constitution."

Before any one condemns us for looseness of construction of the Constitution, we beg further that he will read Mr. Jefferson's letter to Mr. Sparks, (vol. iv. p. 338-391.): we adopt all the qualifications therein mentioned.

Judge Marshall most properly suggests that the objection, in a political view, to the application of this ample fund, is very much lessened, in his estimation, by the fact that our lands are becoming an object for which the States are to scramble, and which threatens to sow the seeds of discord among us, instead of being what they might be—a source of national wealth.

A great part of the proceeds of the public domain once appropriated to this object, there would soon be found no insurmountable difficulty in the removal of the necessary number in Virginia. But it is said that were Congress disposed to give a million annually for the specific object of the removal of the slaves, it would feel bound to bestow it proportionally on all the slave-holding

States, or if all be not inclined to receive it, then on those which would be. We answer, that, if Congress should consent to pledge a certain share of the revenue from the lands for the purchase and removal (under the laws of the States) of the slaves of the United States, we have no doubt it would be thought wise to begin with the effectual relief of the greatest sufferer first.—A minute's attention to the following statement of General Brodnax will show the immense claims of Virginia.

“The State of Virginia contains, by the last census, less than one-fifteenth part of the whole white population of the United States; it contains more than one seventh of the free negroes; and it possesses between a fourth and a fifth of all the slaves in the Union.

“Virginia has a greater number of slaves than any other State in the Union—and more than Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Tennessee, all put together; and more than four times as many as either of them. Louisiana and South Carolina are the only States in which the slaves are more numerous than the white population; and Virginia has more slaves, without estimating her great and unfortunate proportion of free persons of colour, than both these States put together. Nay, one half of the State, that which lies on the east of the Blue Ridge of the Mountains, itself contains nearly as many.”

But if Congress should decline to grant from this fund for the specific purpose of the removal of the blacks, and prefer to distribute among the States the portion of money severally assignable to them, let such portion as would fall to Virginia be earnestly claimed of the Legislature for this object. The annual receipt of between two and three hundred thousand dollars, which Mr. Clay's bill (limited to five years' duration) would assign to her, would not be adequate for compensating masters on the foregoing plan, but it might suffice for doing an immense deal of good on the plan in Mr. Jefferson's letter to Mr. Sparks, the *purchase of the children* at a small but just price, the children to be disposed of either according to the particulars of that plan, or under any other plan which might be speedier, and less burdensome to the persons to be charged with rearing them.

We believe that before half a million of blacks were conveyed to Africa, there would not remain a master obstinately resolved to retain his slaves, except in the most southern and south-western States, where slave labour is next to essential (we hope not absolutely) for the cultivation of the good lands!

We exhort the people of Virginia then, first to seek aid from their own Legislature to the extent it can be afforded; second, to insist on the passage of permanent laws going as far in the subject as public opinion will justify; and third, to assert their claims to a share of the proceeds of the public lands.—Let it not, by her fastidiousness, be made true, that she ceded an empire to the General Government, under a virtual condition that she alone was to derive no benefit from it.

Suppose then means to be thus found to defray the expense of emancipating and transporting them to some other country, the next question is, where a suitable asylum may be found to which to convey them? We answer, that Africa affords the most eligible situation for such an asylum, and that we hope Virginia would avail herself of the noble beginning which has been made by the American Colonization Society at Liberia. We have thus reached our third division, in which we design to say,

III. A few preliminary words on the position of the Colonization Society with reference to the Virginia question, and then to show the possibility of finding a refuge for the blacks in Africa.

Justice to the Society demands that it should be distinctly stated, that it has no share whatever in the abolition question. Its whole sphere of operations is voluntary and peaceful; it is no propagandist of agitating opinions. It has its own private, independent course marked out, which it will pursue, though the abolition of slavery should never be mentioned again in any legislature. Let no adversary of abolition charge on it the odium (since with some it is odium) of that discussion any where. It has confined itself in all

sincerity to the removal of free persons of colour (who may desire the same) to Africa, and to the preparation of means for the reception there of such slaves as might be manumitted by their masters under the laws of the States. Except by the peaceful and modest persuasive of the practicability of its scheme, (now made manifest,) and the certainty of its easy adaptation to the largest possible demand, it has not had, and never will have any agency in creating an inclination to abolition. All such action, too, will plainly pass far beyond the limits of the Society's views. Indeed, in the midst of all the doubts and fears encompassing that subject, how naturally might both of the parties which contest it, turn their thoughts to that Society! How soothing after the agitation of the momentous opinions which separate them from each other, is the invitation to peaceful concert which it holds out to them! In the plan of this Society they can both find large room for the exercise of the patriotism they both boast. It may claim the ardent co-operation of persons of both opinions on the subject of abolition, without expecting those of either opinion to violate in the least their own consistency. Popular writers in South Carolina formerly declared that the Society would become the nucleus for all the mischievous incendiaries through the United States—*now*, it can with ease be demonstrated, that on a subject about which the public mind neither can, nor will be indifferent, the only absolutely certain security against intemperance and rashness, is to be found in the scheme of that Society. The incendiaries find it not at all suited to their taste. The Society was once denounced as hostile to the interests of the slave-holding States, and made up of meddling theorists ignorant of the evil they sought to remedy:—*now*, it begins to be noted that it originated out of the passage, at different periods, of resolutions by the Virginia Legislature, projecting the identical scheme which the Society was established to promote. Formerly it was declared that the Society tampered with the public safety: what is the fact? Why that the very first mention of an American colony of emancipated negroes in Africa, was made in the Virginia Assembly, at a date which we beg every one to notice—it was in 1801. A plan for the acquisition of lands in Africa, for this purpose, was the result of the anxious secret sessions of the Assembly immediately subsequent to the rebellion of Gabriel! In a word, it may be made manifest, that it is not only a safe, a wise, a practicable scheme, but that it was originally the deliberate policy of slaveholders, and is peculiarly fitted as a relief from exigencies of an alarming nature. Give it then but the right to impute to any one a single sentiment of patriotism in the range of the subject of slavery; give it but a concession of one right idea in that man's reasoning on the probable future career of Virginia, and the Society may plant the foot of its rhetoric and its logic on these, so as to move the whole mass of his sentiments and opinions into subjection to itself.

The history of the first suggestions about the expediency of a colony on the coast of Africa is briefly told. In the last century it was distinctly proposed by several individuals, and was even talked of, it is believed, in the Virginia Assembly. But its chief events are the resolutions of the sessions of that body in 1801–3, when the governor was desired to open a correspondence with the president, on the means of finding an asylum in the European colonies already established, or of purchasing a suitable territory; and the passage of similar resolutions in 1816, the correspondence under the former having proved fruitless. The direct object of these two attempts was the establishment of a colony under the proprietorship and dominion of Virginia, or of the United States. It was after this last attempt that it was suggested by certain philanthropists, among whom Dr. Finley and Mr. Caldwell were most conspicuous, that the benevolent project would take a more vigorous beginning, and succeed better under the control of a private society, and thereupon the present Society was instituted at Washington, as the more convenient agent in the prosecution of the conception of the Virginia Assembly.

The fixed object of the labours of the Society was at once declared to be the removal to Africa of the free blacks with their own consent, and of such blacks, then slaves, as might after that time be set free, under the laws of the States. Were there no other object in view but the providing a foreign place of refuge for the existing class of free negroes, we are sure that that of itself would be found an end quite worthy of the labours of a Society spread over the whole country; and this chiefly as a measure of police. So pernicious a class, (we admit many honourable exceptions,) the source of so much vice and the prey of so much misery, so beset with an inaptitude to habits of virtue, so tempted to petty misdemeanors and so subject to be dragged into crime; a class so seemingly born for the rolls of vagrancy and the calendar of felonies, exists no where perhaps in the world. No wise government can, for a moment, regard the existence of such a class without uneasiness. We admit that the whites are under a sacred duty to them: one of two things must be done. Either their condition must be radically changed, and bettered, by the grant of such privileges in this country, as may induce them to become useful citizens, or they must be prevailed on to accept elsewhere a home under a sky of more friendly influences. That the whites in the slave-holding States should ever consent to grant them here enough privileges to be a sufficient temptation to them to reform the character of their *caste*, is wholly improbable and unreasonable. It is true that in the domestic police of the West Indies, where they are highly privileged, it is thought they serve as a barrier class between the masters and slaves, to protect the masters; but were we to give a list of their privileges there, it would go nigh to create a revulsion in the mind of the reader from all the humanity he at present feels towards the *caste*.—The approach to equal rights with the whites, in some of the non-slave-holding States, has indisputably made them a more pestilent population in those States, than elsewhere. In a memorial prepared by the Pennsylvania Colonization Society and presented to the Legislature of that State three or four years ago, (referred to in an earlier number of this Journal,) it is stated that of the whole population of Pennsylvania, then estimated at 1,200,000, about 40,000 or one thirtieth are people of colour; and the following statement taken from the records of the State Penitentiary is then given: "in 1826, of 296 convicted and brought to the Philadelphia prison, 117 were coloured: being nearly in the ratio of 3 to 7. Had the number of coloured convicts been proportional to the coloured population of the State, there would have been but 6 instead of 117. The average of the last seven years proves a similar disproportion." Nothing short of complete citizenship can ever elevate them: but the danger of the example to our slaves is an insuperable barrier to this in the slave-holding States, and the strong disgust of nature every where absolutely forbids the thought in America. Elsewhere then, they must seek the advancement of their degraded condition. Their emigration from one State to another, already restricted, may one day be forbidden, and it is almost to be hoped it may. When once transferred to another land where their freedom is no longer maimed and their privilege no longer ineffectual, they prove as fair subjects of moral and social discipline as the citizens of any government.

There is, however, another branch of the Society's plan. Every one will observe how benignant and void of offence this first part of it is. The second, while it is of vaster compass, is equally harmless. It next fixes its view on such slaves as may be voluntarily manumitted by their masters under the temptation of an opportunity to have them removed out of the United States, and most munificently provided for, on another soil. We think the Society is most deeply indebted to Mr. Archer, for the support he lent it last winter, at its anniversary meeting. He may rest assured that he has not mistaken the neutral character of the Society in the midst of the troubled opinions of the times: that it attacks no man's conventional rights, and tramples on no pardonable prejudices. It waits with patience the slow ripening of public opin-

ion; it prepares with quiet diligence a reservoir for the voluntary outpourings of individual patriotism, and gathers up the random impulses of States and citizens into a concentrated impetus. Legislatures may speak with the power of law, and statesmen may by their courageous eloquence hurry on the day of relief, but the most benignant in behalf of master and slave will be acknowledged to be the unobtrusive Colonization Society, to which they will all turn in the moment of their success. In the end, that Institution shall have the benedictions of all, for it will have shown that "they also serve, who only stand and wait." Such (we have thought necessary to say) is the position of the Society with reference to the abolition question. It now only remains to see whether Virginia can avail herself of the labours of the Society. The following details are, of course, familiar to every one who has given much attention to the reports of the Society; but in the hope that these pages may meet the eye of some who are yet unacquainted with the facts, we shall make a simple recital of some of them.

We will suppose every one persuaded that some point on the African coast is the best position for an asylum for the emancipated blacks. We will suppose too, that the appropriateness of our making to Africa herself a tribute of the reparation which we design to render to humanity, is not merely a fanciful consideration. Although we are ready to admit that, should it seem advisable hereafter, other places in Africa or America may also be selected for colonizing them, we presume the policy of planting the first and largest colony in Africa will be conceded. There it will be distant enough (as it should be) from all possibility of intrusion from the whites; there it need neither dread the jealousy of civilized governments, nor can it become itself, when grown to be a powerful nation, in any manner dangerous to the peace of the United States. To combine these qualities, we think no settlement of blacks can be planted any where at less expense, or in a happier position, than at Liberia.

The colony of Liberia extends about two hundred and eighty miles along the coast, and from twenty to thirty inland. It lies between $4^{\circ} 30'$ and 7° north latitude. This proximity to the equator by no means subjects it to a torrid climate: on the contrary, the climate is mild and uniform, the thermometer never being lower than 68° , nor higher than 88° , save perhaps one day in the season, when it has been known to rise to 91° . To the health of the colony the managers have directed their chief thoughts, and they express confidently the opinion that people of colour from most of the southern States will experience no serious injury from the African climate, and that such persons from any section of the United States will soon be able to settle on the elevated lands of the interior, where there exist, it is believed, no special causes of disease. The process of acclimation is gentle, fatal to comparatively few.—The character of that climate, we are assured by those who know it best, is not well understood in other countries. Fatal as it may be to whites, its inhabitants are as robust, as healthy, as longlived to say the least, as those of any other country. Nothing like an epidemic has ever appeared in Liberia, nor is it learned from the natives that the calamity of a sweeping sickness ever yet visited this part of the continent. The managers have of late sent out experienced physicians, supplies of medicines, appropriated a fund for the erection of a hospital, and taken every measure which experience has suggested. The residents of Liberia declare that "a more fertile soil, and a more productive country, so far as it is cultivated, there is not on the face of the earth. Its hills and plains are covered with a verdure that never fades: the productions of nature keep on in their growth through all the seasons of the year. Even the natives of the country, almost without farming utensils, without skill and with very little labour, make more grain and vegetables than they can consume, and often more than they can sell." All the best products of the tropics, with many others which are favourites in temperate countries, flourish either spontaneously or under moderate labour. From the testimony

of Englishmen we are assured that "the character of these industrious colonists is exceedingly correct and moral; their minds strongly impressed with religious feelings; their manners serious and decorous, and their domestic habits remarkably neat and comfortable." A sum of money has recently been given by a gentleman of New York to found a high school there. A distinguished British naval officer has recently published his conviction, that the success which has attended the American Colony in Africa is a complete proof that such experiments are not of a fanciful, or impracticable nature. Already are there about 2400 inhabitants of Liberia, of whom, (we have often been assured by voyagers thither,) not one repines at his condition, or would consent to return to live in America. Preparations are on foot for a vastly increased body of settlers. It may be satisfactory to compare the planting of Liberia with that of Jamestown. In the year 1624, after more than 150,000 pounds sterling had been expended, and more than 9,000 persons had been sent from England, its population did not exceed 1800 persons. From tables given in Mr. Jefferson's Notes, it appears that, after several fluctuations, sometimes rising as high as 400 and again sinking as low as 60, the whole number in 1618 (the eleventh year of the settlement) was only 600. So far then as the trial of the experiment of a negro colony was concerned, this is success—the most brilliant success. Those who were fearful of it from the analogy of the failure of Sierra Leone (a most remarkable instance certainly in the history of British enterprise, which, above all things, has succeeded in planting foreign colonies) may now dismiss all fear. The American negro, unchanged by the residence of generations in America, has proved that in the native latitude of his ancestors he is for the first time at home, and, in the words of the same British officer, "the complete success of this colony is a proof that negroes are, by proper care and attention, as susceptible of the habits of industry and the improvements of social life, as any other race of human beings." And this is our answer to all the theorizing on the principle of idleness being essentially dominant in the negro; for the present settlers can hardly be said to be picked men.

No one has been so irrational as to suppose that the business of planting colonies is an easy thing. We are not blind to the lessons that the many disastrous adventures in it have left in history. The fatal errors which ruined the Duke de Choiseul's great expedition to Kourou, when 1000 or 1200 men, very much unprovided with the most common necessaries, and at the most rainy and unhealthy season, were sent out at once to people the immense deserts of French Guiana, are not very likely to be incurred to day. The most cautious and wary trial of the seasons, climate, soil, &c., of Liberia, and of the fitness of negroes for the discipline of laws, has first been made; repeated experiments have shown what sort of discipline must be used, what means each emigrant must bring with him, and what habits he must be expected to adopt when arrived, to prevent his bringing the burden of pauperism on the colony. The present settlement virtually supports itself: the introduction of new settlers involves all the expense to the Society. This may fairly be expected to be always the case. All the uncertainties relative to a country so different from our own, and so distant, have been explored by forerunners: we know what are the real dangers to be guarded against, and are not to be alarmed by unfounded imaginations. Besides, all the circumstances connected with the planting of colonies are not disadvantageous: Adam Smith with his usual wisdom remarks, that the colony of a civilized nation which takes possession of a waste country, for many causes is apt to advance more rapidly to wealth and greatness than any other human society. Nay, we do know that failure is not the certain issue even under the most sinister auspices. It was a fine idea of Mr. E. Everett's, when describing the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth from the *May Flower*, to suppose that a reader were to shut up the book after seeing this fated company debark, and conjecture the

result: how soon and how naturally the political economist would have imagined their destruction! Yet all calculations were baffled, and the sons of those Pilgrims yet flourish in that bleak and stony region, with a prosperity healthier than the Saturnian earth itself ever gave. But, indeed, the political economist who should do Liberia the justice to survey it well, would pronounce that this colony cannot fail—every thing is in its favour, if there be but prudence.

Still, the adversaries of abolition, incredulous, deny that the successful experiment of a small colony of American negroes affords sufficient grounds for the belief that it can be expanded into a populous State; that by the admission of the Society itself its colony could not now receive the annual addition of 6000 without utter destruction, and that the area of the colonial territory could contain but a small part of the slave population of the United States.—On the subject of these objections, we have taken means to procure the most authentic information of the views of the leading friends of the Colony. The following particulars are so judicious and succinct that we give them in their original form: they are from the *best source*.

“I have not a doubt that the Colony of Liberia can receive emigrants in any number which the Society, or the States, or the National Government may be able to transport. We have thought, it is true, that the slow growth of the Colony hitherto has been advantageous to it, but its affairs are now so settled and prosperous as to admit of a much larger annual accession to its numbers. Several thousands might now be annually colonized, provided some *preparation* were made for their reception by the erection of buildings for them, and some provision for their temporary support after their arrival. I would say that from ten to fifteen dollars would be enough to allow to each emigrant for such preparations and support. Perhaps no country is more productive and fertile than Liberia; probably one hundred thousand people might derive their subsistence from the territory already purchased, and additional territory to any desirable extent may be easily obtained.

“Suppose then we had \$100,000 at command annually, it might all be judiciously expended in a single year in removing emigrants and in *preparing* for the emigrants of future years. I should think the *wisest* course would be to send—say one thousand or fifteen hundred the first year, and double that number the next, and at the end of five years I should judge ten thousand might be annually sent with advantage in every respect to the interests of the Colony. It would certainly be desirable to make some *selection* among those who might first offer, as much might depend on their character and habits. It may not be easy to discriminate sufficiently in this matter, and we must depend principally upon the moral means which may be set in operation in Liberia to improve and elevate the population.—The new circumstances, in which emigrants find themselves there, work remarkable and most favourable changes in their character. They give them enterprise, invention, self-reliance, and high purposes and hopes!”

People in the United States are hardly aware what degree of attention and admiration the founding of this colony has excited in Europe. We have ourselves the very best reason to know that extreme interest is expressed in its prospects by learned Professors and eminent Ministers of State in Germany. The Bulletins of the Geographical Society of Paris have often heralded the rising greatness of our little African republic, and paid some of the advocates of the Society the flattering compliment of translating large extracts from their speeches. It is not long since the Chancellor of the British Exchequer, Lord Althorp, declared in Parliament that he regarded the founding of Liberia as one of the most important events of the century. It is impossible to mention without emotion the two next English names, whose approbation carries with it a blessing of great unction. The aged and venerable Thomas Clarkson is said to have listened to the details of the Society's operations with an enthusiastic delight, such as he has not manifested for twenty years: he wrote to Mr. Cresson: “For myself I am free to say, that of all things that have been going on in our favour since 1787, when the abolition of the slave trade was first seriously proposed, that which is going on in the United States is the most important. It surpasses every thing which has yet occurred.” And Mr. Wilberforce, a spirit coequal with Howard and the Premier name on the rolls of humanity when she speaks with authority, (we mean when philanthropy having taken its seat in parliaments and privy coun-

cils puts on the authoritative character of state policy,) Mr. Wilberforce declares: "You have gladdened my heart by convincing me that sanguine as had been my hopes of the happy effects to be produced by your institution, all my anticipations are scanty and cold compared with the reality. This may truly be deemed a pledge of the divine favour, and believe me no Briton, I had almost said no American, can take a livelier interest than myself in your true greatness and glory." Very handsome contributions to the Society's funds have also been made in England, chiefly by the Society of Friends, a body of people enviably distinguished among religionists by the exclusive title of *sectaries of domestic freedom*.

This colony thus cheered on by the enlightened sentiment of Europe, is obviously destined to prove the best means of putting an end to the African slave trade. The attempt to crush this piracy by guardian fleets on the coast has had but indifferent success. The whole number of Africans recaptured by the British cruisers from 1819 to 1828, was only 13,267, being on an average 1400 per annum, while the number kidnapped is supposed to have amounted to 100,000 yearly. The British officers have borne the most honourable testimony to the great benefit rendered to the service by the Colony of Liberia. For a great distance north and south of it, the trade is effectually stopped, and this not merely by show of hostile interference, but by the surer measure of luring the natives to the more profitable business of peaceful commerce. Several powerful tribes have wholly renounced the trade of slaves, and have put themselves under the protection of the colony. The sole means of shutting up for ever the gate of this satanic mischief, is the planting of a number of colonies of free American blacks along the coast; the ardent approbation and co-operation of England, France, and the Netherlands, may readily be had to give them security, and perhaps the Spanish Bourbons and the divided house of Braganza may one day be tempted to a show of a little good faith in behalf of Africa, on this plan. England is fully sensible of the reparation she owes to humanity for her deep participation in the Spanish Assiento, and for her having done her utmost to render slavery immortal in these United States. Her unrelaxed intercession with all the European powers, and with the South American, ever since the Congress of Vienna, to procure the extinction of the slave trade, has gone far to redeem her, we admit, and will cover a multitude of sins of the Castlereagh policy. All the other powers are likewise most deeply implicated in the complex guilt of that trade.

But besides its agency in suppressing the slave trade, we are not ashamed to confess that we look on the hope of spreading civilization to a great extent around Liberia, perhaps the regeneration of the whole western coast, by means of this colony, as by no means chimerical. Who shall say that a colony of half a million of civilized black men in the centre of the west coast, (and we dare believe that not less will be the population of Liberia and its sister settlements before the close of the present century,) exhibiting to the nations about it the spectacle of a well ordered State, owing its prosperity to the arts of peace, to laws, and to religion, may not spread a peaceful influence, for hundreds of leagues, never equalled in power by any impulse felt in any quarter of Africa, except in the propagation of Mahommedanism by the sword? History and tradition give us to believe that the civilization of the world had its source in the heart of Africa; why may not the reverted current be poured into a land itself once prolific of so benign a stream? Are not we, who are at this moment doubting of the possibility of civilizing a dark quarter of the world, ourselves an alien race, colonists on a land the farthest distant from the ancient seats of Christendom, which yet in the course of three centuries has become a continent redundant with civilization? It was truly said at the Anniversary of the Society in 1832, that a thousand instruments for the diffusion of improvement may now be employ-

ed, which were unknown even at the time of the first founding of colonies on this continent. But all other hopes are feeble compared with a just reliance on the example of a large community of people of the *same colour*, the same descent, the same nature with the people of the coast. Indeed, the Continent of Africa is, at the present day, before all others in the romantic interest it inspires. No speculation engages more cultivated minds than the Geography of the Interior, and no object is thought worthier of the sacrifice of precious lives, than its exploration for the satisfaction of merely scientific curiosity. Who has not glowed with the enthusiasm of Herodotus, of Burckhart, of Denham, or with the humbler zeal of the Landers? Who has not brooded over the imagination of her vast deserts, her beautiful oases, her aromatic gales? Who has not grown romantic with thoughts of her gorgeous heavens, the tropical glory of her vegetable kingdom? Above all, who is a stranger to the uncertain image of her *fabulous* old waters? To sow the principal and mother elements of human life in this land, to found society, to introduce polity, religion, morals, and laws, and to plant the arts—why shall not this be the portion of our Colony? We believe, as firmly as that we now live, that at least the Coast of Guinea is, in no great lapse of time, to undergo a purification by the instrumentality of Liberia. The philosophic imagination loves to feast itself with these hopes, and to believe that, in a century perhaps, there shall be in the orphan homes of Western Africa, an odour richer than that mentioned in the divine lines of Milton; in one of those familiar geographical passages which it is always a charm to repeat:—

—————“When to them who sail
Beyond the cape of Hope, and now are past
Mozambic, off at sea north-east winds blow
Sabean odours from the spicy shore
Of Araby the blest; with such delay
Well pleased they slack their course, and many a league
Cheered with the grateful smell old Ocean smiles.”

Should the day ever come, when, from the mouth of the Gambia to the equator, not a slave-market exists, but peace, good faith, commerce, and an increasing mental light have sway, then shall indeed the mariner, as he plies through these now infamous latitudes, slack his course, well pleased to join with the nations in the villages and the plains, in the solemn litanies they offer to Heaven to deliver them for ever from the scourges they have escaped!

But a land dear to our hearts is too to be redeemed: it is our own native America, and first of all Virginia. If an exigency ever existed, and inducements to a step of deliverance were ever too forcible for reasonable men to withstand, that exigency and such inducements now stand clear in her view. But after all, it has been asserted, that, be the present condition of Virginia bad as it may, her very existence depends on retaining her slaves:—that, take but these away and she becomes desolate! Are they indeed essential to her existence, even though it be true that she never can prosper with them, and must deteriorate from day to day while she keeps them? Has she but one possible *mode of existence*, and is she condemned to live out that through all its descending stages? Ruinous fatalism! Is it not, on the contrary, the exclamation of every observer, that no country in the world was ever more blessed than Virginia originally was: that the chief of her blessings being in their nature indestructible, (such as consist in the climate, Atlantic and central position, the number, magnitude, and arrangement of rivers and their estuaries, natural adaptation to manufactures, &c. &c.) are not yet marred, and that others, (such as fine soils, &c.) though greatly injured, may yet be considered reclaimable by the same system that makes the cold and rocky soils of New England as productive as the Delta of Egypt? Eminent agriculturists have given the opinion that it is cheaper to reclaim reduced lands than to clear new ones. We shall never believe that Virginia would not have a thousand temptations for different sorts of emigrants, for capitalists, for free

labourers, and for her own sons who meditate emigration, were but measures resorted to to take the whole labour of the State out of the hands of slaves. Can any one make us believe that, with a free white population, the unparalleled facilities of water power on James river would not ere this have been made the means of fabricating manufactures to an amount greater than the whole product of tobacco of the State? But it is still maintained that Virginia can never draw the emigrants from other countries, because her inducements can not be as great as those of the new States. A great deal might be said to show, that, in a balance between Virginia without slaves, and the untenanted quarters of the west without the blessings of human neighbourhood, without proximity to the sea, without markets, without the vicinity of the church, the school-house, the mill, the smith's shop, &c.—not quite all the advantages are on the side of the west. It may be perilous to suppose, as each slave is withdrawn, that by any principle of population a freeman will take his place: doubtless the tide of free labour would not instantly begin to flow in. But as soon as the operation of removal had taken an irrecoverable tendency towards its intended results, we dare believe that an adequate supply of free labour would be at hand. Perhaps the whole amount of labour now done in the State could be performed by one third of the number of white labourers. The question, whether free labourers would come, however, to supply the place of that of slaves, is solved with greater or less ease, according as it presumes that the abstraction of the slave is to be accompanied with compensation to the master, procured from a source without the State, or that the master gives away his slave. Under the first presumption the question solves itself. Under the second, the whole question depends on one's opinion whether Virginia possesses any superior capacities for the application of any extensive classes of industry. But of this we have already sufficiently treated under our first head.

We leave this momentous question now with the people of the counties of Virginia: it is for them to decide what effort they will make to diminish the evils of slavery among themselves. That slavery is not an evil to their prosperity they cannot, will not say. Will they say a remedy is impossible? It is any thing but impossible—it tempts, lures them, and will force itself on them. Will they say that the evil will cure itself? It will not cure itself—it ravages with increasing violence, and there is no hope of its decrease, but from its soon reducing the energies of Virginia to such a state of imbecility as to be incapable of furnishing *materiel* for such an amount of evil. Let them not assent to the view of the eloquent Mr. Brown, (*utinam noster esset*) who seems to wish them to wait (some centuries!) until the Mississippi Valley, now but sprinkled with population, is full, and the ebb of population begins towards poor, effete, decrepid Virginia. Will they say they are afraid to touch the mighty evil—they leave it to their children? They will have learnt what must then be the heritage of their children. Or will they fold their arms in torpid indifference to the utmost depth of the calamities they provoke? Then we shall understand them; they are prepared, not merely for enduring the present evil, but for that "worse," when the gloom of today shall thicken into a deep darkness, and upon that darkness shall rush down an awful cloud of domestic war, like another night shut in upon midnight! To the young men of Virginia, who have lately pledged their future manhood and age to the prosecution of this work of deliverance, we say, let them remember in the presence of what a host of witnesses their championship is to be exhibited. In a community where popularity is essential to public usefulness, let them yet not fear, lest the popular favour desert them. The name of the Great Democrat is once more in the van:—a power that never failed in Virginia. Many indeed are the subjects of unhappy conflict in the United States, on which we have but too much reason to wish that Mr. Jefferson were still alive to get his umpirage. Let us at least, hail the

unexpected appearance that offers guidance on this domestic theme, the greatest perhaps of all. Let them be cheered by such auspices; again, "he heads the flock of war." But we should be disloyal to the grandeur of their cause, if we did not forearm them with fortitude to meet odium, to suffer desertion, and to bear with mortifying reverses of every shape. The cause is great enough to deserve these testimonies of its importance. They have before them no easy career, but their destiny to run it is the more enviable. Let the words of Petrarch to Stephen Colonna sink into their heart of hearts:—"few companions shalt thou have by the better way: so much the more do I pray thee, gentle spirit, not to leave off thy magnanimous undertaking." Or would they man themselves to the proper pitch, with the wisdom of a better moralist than Petrarch, let them know: *alii de vita, alii de gloria, et benevolentia civium in discrimen vocantur.*—*Sunt ergo domesticæ fortitudines non inferiores militaribus.* (Cic. de Off. I. 24. 22.)

When, some years ago, upon a public occasion, a young Virginian* complained of the tone in which an American Senator boasted that he had read himself out of all romantic notions on this subject, he ventured to declare that might he but humbly sit at the feet of Charles Fox, and glow with kindred feeling to his, (for he was at no time forgetful of the thought of giving freedom to the African, and spent his last breath in achieving the suppression of the slave trade, though the bill received the royal signature after his death,) he should not envy the American who was so very free of that fine enthusiasm. Since that day it has been that Virginian's lot to stand at the grave of Fox, and had he dared attempt to chasten his feelings into a worthiness for the auspices he had thus chosen in his boyhood, he might have found a scene so literal as to startle him! There may the foes and the friends of that great statesman see how the passions of transient events give way before the immortal essence of one dead for general humanity! By his foes let be forgotten the Coalition and the East India Bill; by his party friends, forgotten for a moment the struggle to diminish the influence of the crown, and to uphold liberty under all the disgrace of the French excesses in her name. Behold what the sculptor chooses, out of all Mr. Fox's claims to renown, to transmit to posterity! He has carved the dying statesman recumbent on his tomb, and at his feet the most conspicuous figure is a liberated African on his knees, raising his shattered chain with clasped hands, and joining with his first hymn of freedom, a prayer to avert the death of the vindicator, assertor, liberator† of Africa. To our mind, that is the most eloquent marble in Westminster Abbey!

LETTER OF MR. GURLEY,

ON THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

Office of the Colonization Society, Washington, April 9, 1833.

Dear Sir—The Rev. G. T. Bedell having kindly favored me with a sight of your interesting letter, addressed to him on the subject of the American Colonization Society, I deem it a duty to that institution, of which I have for several years been Secretary, and a testimonial of but just respect for yourself, to communicate, briefly, my thoughts in regard to the claims of this Society, to the approbation and support of all the friends of God and man.

And here, may I be allowed to say, that I concur in the opinion expressed by the most illustrious man that England, (if not the world) has produced, (Lord Bacon) that the law of Jesus Christ, "Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you," "is the perfection of the law of nature and of nations," binding equally upon man as an individual, and as a member of political society; nor do I hesitate to admit, that the American Colonization Society, if it

* African Repository, September, 1827.

† The two former are titles given in the Civil Law to the advocates for liberty, when the right of any one to freedom was in suit. Hein. II. p. 381, ed. Dupin.

violate in principle or practice this law, is unworthy, utterly unworthy of private or public patronage.

But though the great law of duty between man and man, is *one*, immutable and perpetual, yet the action and conduct required by it, are relatively *various* in different individuals; and in regard to any one individual, dependent for *various modifications*, upon the circumstances in which he may be placed. The law of duty, as a *principle* is forever the same, between parent and child, minister and people, master and servant, ruler and subject; yet no one will deny, that from their co-relative positions result widely *varying* and *varied forms* and *modes* of obedience. That which would be correct conduct in the parent towards the child, the minister towards the people, the master towards the servant, and the ruler towards the subject, would be incorrect in the child towards the parent, the people toward the minister, the servant towards the master, and the subject towards the ruler. Yet, *the law of love*, published by the Savior, and enforced and illustrated by his example, defines the relations and constitutes the immutable and eternal principle and ground of obligation between them. And as human *rights* should be defined, regulated, and measured in the influence and authority of the principle of duty to which we refer, their nature and extent may be, and doubtless are, no less liable to the *variations* and *modifications* of circumstances, than are the conduct and action by which this principle is most perfectly developed and expressed. It seems unreasonable to deny that the rights of human beings may be widely different; those for instance of parents and children, the magistrate and the citizen, the shipmaster and the sailor, the teacher and the scholar, while between them the obligation of Christian duty may be *fully* and *faithfully discharged*. In this connection I beg leave to introduce one or two sentences from an article in the Edinburgh Review for July, 1832, on "the political condition of the Italian states," which seems to me to contain just and important sentiments, bearing upon the question which I propose briefly to consider, that of the *duty of American Christians towards their colored population, and the means and measures best adapted to promote their improvement and happiness*.

"We are called on," says the writer of that article, "to make good by argument, and where necessary, by arms, the claims of man, as a member of society, to a distinct and vivid political existence. As man in his social state, is always moving backward or forward, the abstract claim can, in the case of no two societies, be quite alike, and important modifications of it in practice must constantly arise. *For the right of self-government, whether on the part of an individual or of a people, is founded on the fact, of its being a source of happiness to the parties.* In this point of view, it can be no fixed quantity; still less when more general consequences are taken into consideration. To the extent that questions of competition may unfortunately occur, the exercise of the right, and indeed the right itself, must be subordinate to the paramount test of the general happiness of mankind."

I trust that I shall now be able to show, that in the *present state of things*, the humane and religious of this country will, by giving their united and liberal support to the American Colonization Society, *adopt the best method possible, for the relief and improvement of our entire colored population*.

In considering this question, it should be remembered, that in the United States, and mostly in the states of the south, are about 300,000 free people of color, elevated but little, [and in many cases not at all] above the condition of slaves; and 2,000,000 of slaves, with few exceptions, without education, incapable of providing for themselves, *property*, by the laws of the slave-holding states, and recognized as such by the Constitution of the Union; and by their habits of life, as well as by the darkness of their minds, unqualified either justly to appreciate, or rightly to enjoy the privileges of genuine freedom. Neither for the introduction of this people, nor for their present state, [except so far as its improvements have been unnecessarily prevented during the brief existence of the present generation] *can our citizens be held responsible*. The circumstances in which they found themselves, were not of their choosing. They must, then, take things as they are, and endeavor to make them as they should be without needless delay, and by all practicable means. The benefit of any one class is not, however, *alone* to be considered. The interest of the whites, as well as of the blacks, of masters as well as slaves, should be regarded; though I am ready to admit, that mere pecuniary advantage is not to be weighed in the balances against human liberty.

In what circumstances, then, did the founders of the American Colonization Society find themselves, when they devised; in what circumstances do its supporters find themselves, while they now promote the plan of this institution? They are living under a constitutional government of twenty-four United States, *united* for national purposes and the common welfare, but in other respects *separate and distinct*, each having the entire regulation of its own peculiar institutions and interests, and not responsible to other states, (legally I mean) or to the national government, either for the character of such institutions and interests, or for the laws it may enact, or the measures it may adopt, to preserve and defend them.

When you reflect upon the spirit of our national and state governments, republican throughout; upon the liberty of speech and of the press, guaranteed to every citizen of the United States; upon the easy and rapid communication between the citizens of the several States; upon the number and physical power of the slaves, the property invested in them, the differences of opinion in regard to slavery, arising from different degrees of light, from diversity of interest, and habits and prejudices, you will perceive at once the complicated and dangerous elements which enter into the question before us, and how a vast variety of difficult and delicate, as well as weighty considerations, must receive attention and regard, in forming a judgment concerning Christian duty. Surely, *if on any subject*, caution and discretion are

required, if on *any subject*, imprudent zeal and rash measures are to be deprecated, it *must be* in a case involving the permanent interests of millions of human beings; it *must be* in regard to changes to be wrought in the institutions of society old and established, connected and interwoven with its whole framework and constitution, running into and affecting the strongest passions and feelings, the most vital principles of its existence.

On this subject I am happy to fortify my opinion by that of the great Edwards, who, in his "thoughts on the revival of religion in New England," under the head of *carelessness of the future consequence of things*, remarks:

"Nothing can be more evident from the New Testament, than (alluding to the introduction of things new and strange) that such things ought to be done with great caution and moderation, to avoid the offence that may thereby be given, and the prejudices that might be raised to cloy and hinder the progress of religion. Yea, that it ought to be thus in things that are in themselves good and excellent, and of great weight; provided they are not things of the nature of absolute duty, which, though they may appear to be innovations, yet cannot be neglected without disobedience to the command of God. And the Apostles avoided teaching the Christians in those early days, at least for a great while, *some high and excellent divine truths*, because they could not bear them yet, (1 Cor. iii. c. 1, 2—Heb. v. 2. to the end.)—Thus strictly did the Apostles observe the rule that their blessed Master gave them, of not putting new wine into old bottles, lest they should burst the bottles and lose the wine. And how did Christ himself, while on earth, forbear so plainly to teach his disciples the *doctrines of Christianity* concerning his satisfaction, and the particular benefit of his death, resurrection and ascension, because in that infant state the disciples were then in, their minds were not prepared for such instruction. *I have many things yet to say unto you, but you cannot bear them now.* Howbeit, when He, the Spirit of Truth is come, he will guide you into all truth. And with many parables spake he the word unto them, as they were able to bear it. These things might be enough to convince any one, who does not think himself wiser than Christ and his Apostles, that *great prudence and caution* should be used in introducing things into the church of God, that are very uncommon, though in themselves they may be very excellent, lest by our rashness and imprudent haste we hinder religion much more than help it. Persons that are influenced by any indiscreet zeal, are always in too much haste; they are impatient of delays, and are therefore for jumping to the uppermost step first, before they have taken the preceding steps, whereby they expose themselves to fall and break their bones—oftentimes in their haste, they overshoot their mark, and frustrate their own end. They put that which they would obtain, farther out of reach than it was before, and establish and confirm that which they would remove. Things must have time to ripen. The prudent husbandman waits till he has received the former and the latter rain, and till the harvest is ripe, before he reaps."

If the principles involved in these remarks of Edwards' be correct, of which I cannot doubt, to no subject are they more applicable, or applicable with greater force, than to the question in regard to the method to be adopted and executed for the improvement of the colored population of the United States. The question is not in regard to the *principle or law of duty* binding upon all our citizens in their relation to this large class of our fellow-beings, but in regard to the plans to be adopted, and the means to be used by the humane and religious community to secure its full and most beneficial manifestations.

There are several *matters of fact* which it may be proper here to state, as they bear strongly upon the proposition maintained by me, that the humane and religious in our land, by *giving a liberal and united support to the American Colonization Society*, contribute in the most effectual manner, possible, at present, to the improvement and happiness of our entire colored population.

1. The first fact to which I allude is this—*some* circumstances beyond the control not only of the Christian community, but of the American people, and for which they of course are not responsible, and others for which they are responsible, but which no enlightened man can expect, (at least for ages to come) will be materially changed, operate to prevent the free people of color, while in this country, from rising to that elevation, happiness and usefulness which they might enjoy in Africa. *Not here*, can they feel the same sense of freedom, the same enterprise and hope, and those strong motives of action, which might cause their elevation in a distant community, and on a wider field for honorable and useful conduct.

2. Nothing can be safely and peacefully done for the *direct* and immediate abolition of slavery, but *with the consent of the masters*.

3. In the present state of things, no general effort, (and by this I mean no effort in which good men from every state of the union can unite) *can be made* for the benefit of any portion of our colored population, except such as in its direct action, shall be confined exclusively to the FREE.

4. Such a general effort, for the benefit of the FREE if connected with their colonization in Africa, will exert a *far more powerful influence* in favor of the voluntary manumission of slaves than if directed to their improvement in the United States; because of the prevailing opinion at the South, that the instruction and elevation of the free will produce discontent in the slaves; that such instruction and elevation would prove of but comparatively small value to those who enjoyed them; and that the *emancipation* of the slaves, should they remain in this country, would be followed by evils *greater than slavery itself*. This opinion may be *erroneous*, but it cannot be *suddenly* changed; and if erroneous, will be soonest corrected by the reflections which the prosecution of the scheme of African colonization will inevitably excite.

The question is not whether slavery as it exists, in law and practice, in our southern states, be, to a great extent, a violation of the principles of Christian duty between man and man, and ought, therefore, so far as it is such violation, to be immediately modified and abolished;

but what are the *means to be used* by the humane and religious, to change the *will* of those who alone have the power, and incline them safely and wisely to remedy the evil. If general emancipation is ever to be *peacefully* effected, it must be as I have already said, with the consent of the masters; and here I fearlessly avow the opinion, that to sustain, in the public view, and the judgment of the law, the relation of master to slave, is not *necessarily*, and in thousands of instances, is not *actually*, a violation of Christian duty. To dissolve this relation now would, I conceive, in numerous instances, be, on the part of the masters, a positive violation of that law of love, which, as disciples of Christ, they are bound to obey. It would be doing to others, as in an exchange of circumstances, they would not wish others to do to them. The correctness of this opinion will be evident, if you consider the position of a Christian master inheriting a large estate in Virginia or South Carolina, upon which are numerous slaves, ignorant, unprepared, (from servile habits of dependence upon the will of another for direction and support) to manage for themselves, connected by marriage with slaves, on neighboring plantations, over which he has no control, and who can give liberty to his slaves, *only* on condition of their removal from the limits of the state. The question for such a master to decide, is not, (so far as his conduct is concerned) whether the laws of his state be right or wrong, but one of *individual duty* towards the unfortunate human beings of which he is recognized as master, and towards the community in which he resides. That he is morally right in sustaining the relation of master on any other *principle* than that of the *law of love*, or any longer than he can do it with obedience to that law, I neither believe nor admit.

I will now state more explicitly, some reasons to show that in giving a *liberal* and united support to the American Colonization Society, the humane and religious of our land, *will in the present state of things best promote the interests of our whole colored population.*

I say in the *present state of things*, because I am by no means certain, that other measures may not at some future time be required, and wisely and judiciously adopted.

I. The first reason I offer is, that this Society proposes the *only plan* of benevolent action, for the benefit of this population, in which our *whole* benevolent community can be expected to unite. As union of sentiment and action among a people, gives vast powers to their efforts, this consideration, were other plans proposed equally good, strongly recommends as *superior* that of the Society.

II. The plan of the Society, is the *best* that can be devised, for those most directly interested in it—the *free people of color*. No reflecting man can deny, that causes not under the control of humanity, legislation or religion, retard the improvement, depress the mind, and limit the happiness and usefulness of this class in the United States, and that these causes have no existence in Africa.

This is not a matter merely of *theory*, but a matter of *fact*. We have the testimony of emigrants themselves, confirmed by that of respectable citizens of the United States, and of enlightened foreigners to prove, that the free man of color in Liberia, feels himself *relieved from embarrassments which are thrown around him here*, that he experiences the influence of *new motives*; finds himself in a school of discipline exactly suited to develop his faculties, elicit invention, excite enterprise, and form him for high and honorable action. He is placed in the widest field for usefulness, and exerts a most *beneficial*, and (as the Colony shall advance) may be expected to exert a most extensive influence upon the African tribes.

III. The Society is most happily *adapted to exert a powerful influence in favor of the voluntary emancipation of slaves.*

I do not hesitate to acknowledge, that my hope of the *peaceful* abolition of slavery in this country, rests, mainly upon the *moral* and *religious sentiments* of my countymen. *This*, I believe to be inconsistent with the permanency of the system. If in *any other* land slavery can be perpetual, it cannot be perpetual *here*. As well might the iceberg remain undissolved amid the sunny tropics, as this system long remain amid the kind and gentle influences that are here working its destruction. The spirit and principles of our government, the precepts of our holy religion, and the general feelings of our people *at the South*, as well as at the *North*, are against it as a permanent system. But it must be abolished, *by* and not *against* the will of the South. All or nearly all Americans, cherish the desire and expectation that it will one day be abolished.

Two things have operated in the United States *against emancipation*. 1st, apprehensions on the part of the South, of *rash and dangerous interference from the North*. And 2dly, *Fears* that abolition could not be effected without producing *evils greater than slavery itself*. By the Colonization Society, *both the obstacles have in a great measure been removed*. Southern men adopted the plan of the Society, at its origin, not only as benevolent in itself, but as one, which if successful, would in their opinion, be extensively adopted by individuals and states with a *view to emancipation*; and Northern men approved of it, not only because they saw its benevolence towards the free people of color, and its promise of good to Africa, but because of *all plans, this alone* received the sanction of their Southern brethren, as well adapted to promote the *voluntary abolition of slavery*. The fact, that the Society has assumed common ground, on which the *benevolent from the North and South can unite*, adds *immensely* to its *moral influence on the system of slavery*. It creates mutual confidence. It represses the overheated zeal of the North, and excites the too inactive humanity of the South. It allays the spirit of the North, by proving that the South is willing to adopt measures, with a view to the ultimate relief and elevation of its whole colored population, and it gives activity to the humanity of the *South*, by showing that the North is not disposed to interfere with its real or imaginary rights; that its own humanity may be safely indulged; that none will *unduly*

hasten the measures it may suggest, and by making it obvious, that to repress the dictates of that humanity, or to restrain its power, is to violate the plainest principles of duty. The correct sentiments of the South and the North, are thus brought to *flow harmoniously in the same channel*. The reflections and good feelings of intelligent and virtuous men in all parts of the country on this subject, *are held in fellowship and communion*. Truth and charity touch the hearts of our citizens, while no spirit of disaffection or revolt stirs the soul of the slave.

It is, perhaps, worthy of remark, that the Society exerts *no* influence upon slavery, except a *moral* influence, and therefore no one can, with the least show of reason, object to its proceedings. In many of the slave-holding states, emancipation within their limits is prohibited by law, and thus a right which many masters would highly value, is denied to them; but should the advocate of perpetual slavery, condemn the Society for enabling such masters to exercise this right, without any violation of law, and with advantage to the slave, he would prove himself no less hostile to the *freedom of the master* than of the *slave*, no less the enemy of the *general principle* of liberty, than of the liberty of *particular* individuals. The influence of the Society on slavery, being solely a moral influence, disarms opposition, leaving nothing for foes to contend with, but themselves and goodness and truth.

It is a prevailing opinion among the humane and virtuous citizens of the South, that whenever slaves can be liberated with benefit to themselves, without danger to the public, they *ought* to be liberated. The sentiment of humanity and charity to which we must look for their emancipation, requires, doubtless, to be generally strengthened and excited to greater activity. The Society shows the *practicability* of emancipation on both the conditions just mentioned, and thus, gives the opportunity and offers powerful inducements for the discharge of an acknowledged obligation. It leaves no valid excuse for perpetuating slavery on the ground of necessity. It does more. It constantly invites public attention to the subject of slavery, excites every where reflection upon it, and by indirect influence, (the more *efficient* because *indirect*) awakens reason and conscience to perform their office in making evident our duties, and enforcing the fulfilment of them towards our whole colored population.

If it be true, that slavery can be peacefully abolished only with the consent of the South; *if it be true*, that by the constitution of the land, the North has not the right, if it had the power, to coerce abolition; *if it be true*, that the moral obligation to abolish slavery, whenever circumstances allow of its abolition, without producing evils greater than slavery itself, be extensively acknowledged at the South; *if it be true*, that a practicable scheme for the safe and gradual abolition of the system, be now proposed by the Colonization Society; what more is required to secure such abolition, except the *WILL* to accomplish it on the part of our southern communities? The *only desirable influence* to be exerted by any voluntary association, on this subject then, must be, to produce deeper, more universal and more active feelings of kindness and affection towards the slaves, a *moral sentiment*, of power enough to determine the *WILL* of the South in favor of emancipation. Now it is universally true, that the generous and humane feelings of men, are moved far less by argument and direct appeals, far less by showing that they *ought* to be moved, and *why* they ought to be moved, than by *indirect influences*, by touching examples of goodness, by the beautiful and beneficial effects of such feelings in the lives of those who cherish them, and as manifested in the blessed consequences resulting from their exercise, to those who are the objects of them. Such an indirect influence, gentle, persuasive, but *mighty*, does the Colonization Society send forth on the public mind in favor of emancipation. Since its origin, it *has done more* to produce *voluntary emancipation than all other causes and influences*; and the growing success of its enterprise, adds daily and immensely to its *moral power*.

I am well aware, that this Society is denounced in terms of unmeasured reproach by Mr. Garrison and others, as designed and tending to strengthen, rather than weaken the system of slavery. They demand immediate, unconditional, universal emancipation. I regard the principles of these men as in many respects, fundamentally *false*, and their measures as endangering the stability of our Union, the general welfare of the country, and the best interests of our colored population. I will here note some of their fundamental errors of opinion.

1. The doctrine that a temporary relation, (involving authority on the one side, and dependence, and a general obedience and service on the other) between master and slave, *can in no case be innocent*.
2. That such a relation ought to be instantly dissolved *without regard to the interests of the parties concerned*.
3. That in present circumstances, slavery ought to be abolished by means, not acting *solely through*, but to a great degree *against* and in *defiance* of the will of the South.
4. That our colored population can be as prosperous and happy and useful in this country, as when formed into a community, separate and distinct from the whites.
5. That in the expression of our individual opinions, and the exertion of our individual influence, on the subject of slavery, regard is not to be had to *circumstances* and *consequences*, that we are no less at liberty to inform the slaves of their wrongs, degradation and misery, than bound to proclaim Truth to those who are prepared to receive it, and to enforce moral obligations upon the masters.
6. That the best way, if not the only way, to produce the abolition of slavery in this country, is to thunder forth denunciations against it as a flagrant crime, *universally*, against God and man, not to be tolerated under any modifications, for a moment, but to be destroyed at a blow.

Were doctrines like these true, (and I believe them to be false,) the publication of them by citizens of the Northern States, while opinion at the South remains as at present, can do little but arouse the deepest and most violent feelings of our nature, in hostility towards those who inculcate them; and produce a fixed purpose to repel at all hazards, any attempted invasion of southern rights on the subject of slavery. It will, if persisted in, I fear, produce a conflict between the North and the South, more appalling than any ever witnessed in our country.—The most terrible elements of human passion will be wrought into fury; the wings of an awful darkness will overshadow us, while all hearts tremble, and all faces turn pale with dismay.

I have not alluded to the hopes cherished by our Institution, that the object which it is endeavoring to accomplish, will soon be deemed worthy of the liberal patronage of the Legislatures of the States, and of the Federal Government. To this object, Maryland and Virginia have already made generous appropriations. The scheme has also received the favorable notice of Congress, and it is expected will soon receive its aid.

I have said nothing of the success which, under the good providence of God, has attended our efforts in establishing the Colony of Liberia. With the origin, present state and promise of that Colony, you are doubtless acquainted. It presents, on the African coast, a well ordered christian community of men of color, contented and prosperous, with schools and churches, courts of justice, and a periodical press; growing in enterprise, intelligence and wealth, and exerting a powerful and benign influence over the native tribes. It is a beautiful monument, erected on a dark and distant shore, to the honor of American benevolence.—It stands a citadel of civilization and freedom, within the precincts of barbarism; a temple of worship for the ever living God, on the territories of superstition, where humanity has long been covered with the shame and bound in the chains of an inexorable bondage. It offers a blessed asylum to the free man of color, *and is the hope of the slave.*

I rejoice to know, that it has awoke the sympathies, and enlisted the charities of the people of England. We highly appreciate the earnestness and resolution of Mr. Cresson, who perseveres in his efforts for this sacred cause, without the desire or expectation of pecuniary reward, and I cannot adequately express my respect and affection for the high-souled in England, who have so magnanimously and liberally responded to his appeals, and thus proved themselves sharers in the sublime (may I not say) divine spirit of charity, which overlooking the boundaries of country, and all the diversities of rank, condition, and aspect among men, makes its possessors feel their relationship to the whole race, and kindles within their bosoms an undying zeal for the universal prosperity and happiness of mankind.

With the highest esteem and respect, your friend and servant.

R. R. GURLEY.

HENRY IBBOTSON, Esq. Sheffield, England.

INTELLIGENCE FROM LIBERIA.

The Liberia Herald of February 11, has been received at this office.—Among several interesting articles of intelligence, it contains a marine list, from which it appears that since the publication of the paper next preceding it, there had been *eighteen* arrivals of vessels at the port of Monrovia, and *seventeen* departures from it. These numbers are considerably in advance even of those noticed in the last Repository, and indicate an increased activity in the Colony, that is in many respects striking, and in all encouraging. As a sample of the commercial progress of the Colony, we subjoin the following advertisement:

“The fast sailing coppered and copper-fastened Schooner Rebecca, Roberts master, will sail alternately from this port, for Windward and Leeward, and will take freight on moderate terms, for which, or passage, apply to
DAILEY & RUSSWURM.

“MONROVIA, February 11, 1833.”

The Herald contains an extract from Mr. Harvey's address on the 1st of December 1832, the anniversary of that victory of the colonists over the natives, which is so remarkable an event in the annals of Liberia. We subjoin a few passages from it.

After adverting to the motives which induced emigration to Liberia, and the circumstances under which the colonists arrived there, the speaker says,

“Soon they heard the sound of the War Horn and the Savage yell, preludes of a war with a people, by whom if conquered, they could not expect to be treated as prisoners, taken by a civilized nation. Therefore, they had either to die an instantaneous death in trying to conquer their enemies, and lay a lasting foundation for themselves and children, or, undergo all those appalling horrors, consequent in the event of their falling a sacrifice to their savage and relentless foes. And when we consider the paucity of their number, contrasted with their nu-

merous enemies, together with their incapacity, as regards their military skill, and yet behold them, driving them with victorious triumph; we are constrained to say, that the God of thunders fought their battles and gave them the victory over their savage foes! But, in order that we may be more sensible of the signal interpositions of Providence, both in the establishment and the progression of our colony, let us ask ourselves, what was this place fifteen years ago? A place of darkness and misery; a depot where thieves and robbers had deposited men, women and children,—deprived of all those endearing delights, which render life pleasurable here,—the fleets of Hell were seen gliding over our now happy waters, while every wind that blowed over the then unhappy spot, published in the ear of Heaven, the cries and lamentations of thousand of “Weeping Rachels,” mourning the loss of the endearing pledges of their affection! Here long slumbering science had been sleeping for ages in the cradle of ignorance,—here all those embellishing and exalting qualities, that aggrandize and improve human nature, lay buried in the grave of intellectual night,—here no altars existed, except such as were erected to the unknown God, whom the savage tribes ignorantly worshipped,—here christianity had not shed a cheerful ray for ages. But fellow colonists, let us now behold what happy change of things, has kind Providence wrought! Now long slumbering science, has begun to awake,—now the sun of knowledge has once more dawned, and begun to shed bright intellectual day, throughout this dark and benighted land,—now are seen christian temples and altars, perfumed by the breath of christian prayers, erected to the true and living God.

“Now are seen crowded into our waters, vessels of different nations, engaged in an honorable commerce, which, while it enriches, also introduces us to a political and national acquaintance with civilized nations.”

A glowing picture of the probable destinies of the Colony, is followed by this pious and feeling admonition:

“But, fellow colonists, while we are the happy participants of these great and glorious privileges, let us not be unmindful of the source, whence they flowed, but let us consider ourselves as Heaven’s trustees, of civil and religious knowledge, placed here for the great and noble purpose of becoming instruments in the hand of Heaven, in evangelizing this dark continent; let us also acknowledge, with warm and heartfelt gratitude, our thanks to the illustrious few, who were instruments in Heaven’s hand, in laying a foundation for the blessings which we this day enjoy; and in order that we may in a higher degree, sweeten our civil and religious union, let us be industriously engaged in acquiring intellectual and civil accomplishments; these will confirm more solidly our union and sociability at home, and command esteem and respect abroad.”

INTELLIGENCE.

REPORTS OF AGENTS.

JOHN G. BIRNEY, Esq. writes, under date of New Orleans, April 8th, 1833, the Mississippi Colonization Society have passed a resolution, instructing their Treasurer to pay over to the Agent of the Parent Society, all the funds now in the Treasury and such other funds as may be collected, and which may not be needed for the expenses of the Auxiliary Society, on condition that the Parent Society agree to transport such free persons of color as the Auxiliary Society may wish to send to Liberia, at such times as they may be required by the Board of Managers, until the amount thus contributed is reimbursed. The Board of Managers in Natchez, are remarkable for their intelligence and liberality.—According to previous appointment, Mr. Birney delivered two addresses at Natchez, both of which were well attended. In conformity with the foregoing resolution, \$2800 were paid over to Mr. Birney. He also received from the President of the Auxiliary Society, \$200, to be acknowledged thus: “by two ladies formerly residing in Mississippi, now in Philadelphia.”

On the 29th March, Mr. Birney delivered an address at Port Gibson, which, in consequence of the state of the weather, was not numerously attended. Mr. Birney was informed that two bodies of emigrants, one from Tennessee, and the other from Kentucky, had already passed on to New Orleans, the boats

having touched at Natchez; and therefore did not proceed to Woodville according to appointment, but returned to Natchez. He there found 107 emigrants from Kentucky, and 16 from Tennessee, as comfortably provided as circumstances would admit, and with three or four exceptions, in very good health. One more from Kentucky, afterwards came, and 25 from Tennessee; the latter being accompanied by Mr. King, who brought with him about \$450; the Kentucky emigrants were accompanied by Mr. Thornton Mills, Corresponding Secretary of the Kentucky Colonization Society, who brought with him about \$1800. Mr. Birney had concluded the terms of a contract for conveying these emigrants to Liberia, in the Brig Ajax, which was expected to sail by the next Saturday after the date of Mr. Birney’s letter.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE BOARD.

*Office of the Colonization Society, }
Washington, April 17, 1833. }*

The following resolutions have been adopted by the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society:

Resolved, That it be announced as the purpose of this Board, to send two expeditions with emigrants to Liberia annually, from New Orleans. The one to sail on the first of May, and the other on the first of November; and that for the ability to do this, the Board rely upon means to be supplied by

their friends and the auxiliary societies in the western and southwestern states.

Resolved, That public notice be given, that it is expected an expedition will sail from Virginia with emigrants for the colony, in July next, and that such free persons of color from that State as may desire a passage, be requested to make early application to John McPhail, Esq. of Norfolk, to the State Colonization Society at Richmond, or to the Secretary of the Parent Society at Washington.

Resolved, That the contributions of the citizens of Edinburg, (Scotland) are accepted by this Society with thankfulness, and will be remembered in the way pointed out by Mr. Cresson, in giving the name of EDINA to the town that may next be settled in Liberia.

AUXILIARY SOCIETIES.

☞ We take this occasion, particularly to request the Secretary of each Auxiliary Society within the United States, to furnish us as speedily as possible with a list of its officers and members, such information having been heretofore much needed, and being now especially desirable.

Kentucky Colonization Society.

We acknowledge with pleasure the receipt of a copy of the Fourth Annual Report of the *Kentucky Colonization Society*, including the address of the REV. JOHN C. YOUNG, on the occasion, when the Report was read.

The Fourth Annual meeting of this valuable Auxiliary Society, was held in the Presbyterian church in Frankfort, on Thursday, December 13th, 1832. GEN. JAMES ALLEN, one of the Vice-Presidents, presided; the proceedings began with a prayer from the REV. DR. BLACKBURN; and the Society then proceeded to the election of officers for the ensuing year. The following individuals were chosen:—

President, Gen. James Allen, of Green co.; *Vice-Presidents*, John J. Crittenden, Esq. of Frankfort; Rev. J. S. Bacon and Elder John T. Johnson, of Scott co.; James H. McLure, Esq. of Campbell county; Rev. Bishop B. B. Smith and Thomas T. Skillman, Esq. of Fayette county; James M. Preston, Esq. of Boone county; Rev. J. Tomlinson, of Bracken county; Hon. J. T. Morehead and Hon. Joseph R. Underwood, of Warren county; Rev. John C. Young and Capt. Samuel Daviess, of Mercer county; John Green, Esq. of Lincoln county; Charles M. Thruston, Esq. of Jefferson county; Major Daniel B. Price, of Jessamine county; Rev. Francis Cossit, of Caldwell county; Rev. Gideon Blackburn, D. D. of Woodford county; Col. William P. Fleming, of Fleming county; Gen. William M. Sudduth, of Bath county; James Love, Esq. of Knox county;—

Corresponding Secretary, Thornton A. Mills; *Recording Secretary*, Henry Wingate; *Treasurer*, Col. Edmund H. Taylor; *Managers*, Rev. John T. Edgar, Rev. H. H. Kavanaugh, John Brown, Esq. Col. James Davidson, Capt. W. S. Waller, John H. Hanna, Esq. Charles S. Morehead, Esq. Jacob Swigert, Esq. Col. P. Dudley and Uriel B. Chambers, Esqrs.

The Annual Report, after adverting to the general success which had attended the agency of the Rev. George C. Light, for Kentucky, mentions the appointment of Robert S. Finley, Esq. of Cincinnati, as an Agent for a few months; the sailing of the first expedition of emigrants from Kentucky, and the intention of the Board to send out a second expedition during the present spring.

In regard to the prospects of the scheme of Colonization, the Report holds the following encouraging and judicious language:

“The board would congratulate the friends of colonization, on the prospects which are before the Society. It is advancing in public estimation, and several of the Southern States are turning their attention to it. If our friends are only diligent and persevering in their exertions, no doubt can be entertained as to the final success of our enterprise. But we must caution them not to relax their efforts, under the impression that all is accomplished. We have scarcely made a beginning, in comparison with what has yet to be done.”

The Rev. Mr. Light's report, shows receipts amounting to \$1137.67, and deductions amounting to \$1040. The Treasurer's report, shows a balance on hand of \$1017.41.

It is with regret that we are constrained to admit only a few brief extracts from the Rev. Mr. Young's address. It is a sensible and eloquent composition, well deserving a thorough perusal.

“It is not strange, then, considering the revolutions of human opinion, that we should treat as fellow heirs of immortality, those, whom former ages degraded to an equality with the beasts of the field; that we should esteem it our duty to relieve those, whom they conceived it their right to oppress; and that we should regard as a calamity to our country, the presence of those whom they thought it a benefit to introduce. Neither is it strange, considering the enlargement of human power, that we should view as practicable a project, which ruder and poorer ages would have pronounced visionary; that we should possess the courage to grapple with an evil, at the magnitude of which they would have stood appalled; and that we should with confidence undertake to avert a catastrophe which they would have deemed inevitable.

“The origination of the scheme of African Colonization, is one of those events which

mark the character of an age. It could only have been devised in an age of liberal sentiments, of enlarged foresight, and of magnificent undertakings. It is a scheme as vast in its conception, as it is benevolent in its object. It embraces two continents within the sphere of its operations, and contemplates two great races as the subjects of its blessings. It proposes to transform degraded bondsmen into apostles of liberty; to make reparation to Africa for the wrongs of two centuries; to restore to her plundered bosom civilized men for her stolen barbarians; to remove from one land a curse, by bestowing upon another a blessing; to make the dangers of one people and the actual miseries of another, the occasion of advancing the happiness of both. The bare contemplation of such a scheme does us good; its grandeur swells the intellect, while its philanthropy warms the heart. The history of its full accomplishment will form one of the most splendid chapters in the annals of the earth. Its character will reflect glory upon all who shall aid in its advancement. It has already effected enough to secure it from total failure; and even its partial success would be attended with inestimable good. But an undertaking so every way suited to the spirit of our age, and so absolutely demanded by the necessities of our country, cannot fall short of complete success; and as an omen of its ultimate and full triumph, we see it rising in public favor, with a rapidity perhaps never paralleled in the progress of any novel, and difficult and gigantic enterprise.

"This scheme, like every other, has, in the community, its enemies, its indifferent spectators, and its lukewarm friends. Some dislike it because they desire to perpetuate slavery; others oppose it, because they are anxious to promote emancipation. The one set believe that it will rivet more closely the chains of the slaves; the other that it will ultimately let the oppressed go free. Many feel no interest in its object, and never examine its claims to their support; while another class approve its principles, but distrust its success. All these, so variant in views and feelings, are, though without concert, combined to impede its advancement; and I shall esteem myself happy, if, by an exhibition of its practicability and important benefits, I can induce in any, a relinquishment of their hostility, their indifference, or their incredulity."

The Reverend and eloquent speaker, then proceeds to show, that the *scheme of African Colonization, is in its widest extent, a practicable one.* He answers the several objections arising from its imputed extravagance of cost; from the supposed difficulty of procuring colonial territory, commensurate with the object; from the apprehended danger of crowding the Colony by a rapid and large emigration; and from the assumption, that our negro population is unfit for self government. He then attempts, and we think with complete success, to sustain the following propositions:

1. *That Colonization would greatly advance both the immediate and permanent prosperity of our country, by the removal of the free blacks.*

2. *The Colonization Society will enable us at length, to escape from the evils of slavery.*

3. *The establishment of this Colony would be productive of a great and permanent accession to our national resources.*

4. *The effect of colonization, upon Africa, is deserving of consideration.*

5. *This enterprise will shed imperishable lustre upon our country.*

We hope to find some convenient season hereafter, for inviting the attention of our readers, to some of the reasons and facts adduced by Mr. Young, in support of each of the foregoing propositions. At present, we have room for only one paragraph, extracted from the argument for the first of them. It strongly, and equally, claims consideration from those adversaries to colonization, who impute to it designs of abolition, and from those who identify it with a covert scheme for perpetuating slavery:

"The Colonization Society, besides saving us from being eventually outnumbered, will confer another benefit upon us, by the removal of this class. It is a well known fact, that in all parts of our land, the free negroes are the most degraded portion of our population. And doubtless, we would be so in their condition. We have withheld from them the key of knowledge, yet complain that they do not act from motives which ignorance cannot appreciate. We regard them with suspicion, and yet expect them to act from a respect to their own character. We treat them with contempt, and wonder that they have no sense of honor. We remove from them the high earthly rewards of well-doing, and are astonished that they do not live virtuously. We leave them uninstructed in the oracles of God, and think it strange that they pay no deference to the divine will. Their misdeeds, the natural consequences of their untoward lot, entitle them to pity as well as blame. Still, these misdeeds, proceeding from what cause they may, render them a nuisance to society. They repay us for our neglect and contumely by the depredations they commit, and the moral corruption they spread around them.—The injury they do to the slaveholder's property by their influence upon his servants, would, if valued, amount to a sum more than sufficient to convey them from among us.—And many who desire the continuance of domestic bondage, advocate colonization on the sole ground of its tendency to make slave property more valuable and secure. There are, indeed, those who profess to hope that the free negroes may, as a class, be reformed and elevated, while they still continue among us,

and enjoy no prospect of a country of their own. The attempt would be like struggling to conquer a malignant disease in the infected atmosphere, and with every cause at work, which had originally contributed to engender it. Can we expect to reform them, while we are unable to apply to them the checks and stimulants which we feel to be necessary to the restraint of our own vices, and the cultivation of our own virtues? And can we apply these checks and stimulants, while they daily see themselves despised, and regarded as an inferior caste? It may be a prejudice that causes them to be so regarded; but it will continue while the principle of association operates in the mind of man. The black skin has been, for ages, the livery of slaves. You may change the condition of the negro, but you cannot change his color. He must retain, and transmit to his descendants, the unconcealable badge of his former servitude. As long as the sight of Bunker's Hill or Yorktown recalls the remembrance of freedom's struggle, so long will the hue of the negro remind us of his own, or his father's degradation."

Colonization Society of the Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut.

The students of the Wesleyan University at Middletown, Connecticut, have formed themselves into an auxiliary society. We are indebted to the Secretary for the following account of their proceedings:

Pursuant to previous notice, a meeting of the students of the Wesleyan University was held this day at 2 o'clock, P. M. in the Chapel. Mr. GEORGE W. LANE was called to the chair, and Mr. HUGH JOLLY appointed Secretary. The subject of African Colonization was laid before the meeting, and the following resolution was adopted; viz:

Resolved, That we form ourselves into a society, auxiliary to the American Colonization Society, under the name of "the Colonization Society of the Wesleyan University."

Mr. J. W. FOSTER then presented the form of a constitution, which was adopted.

The society being organized, the following officers were elected for the ensuing year; viz: *President*, David Patten; *Vice Presidents*, Perlee Wilbur, John W. Foster; *Corresponding Secretary*, Abel Stevens; *Recording Secretary*, Fisher Ames Foster; *Treasurer*, John M. Flourney; *Board of Directors*, Frederick Merrick, George H. Rounds, Samuel M. Valentine, George W. Lane, Hugh Jolly.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the papers in this city.

Resolved, That the Corresponding Secretary forward the proceedings of this meeting to the Secretary of the American Colonization Society at Washington.

☞ Want of room in the present number of the Repository, obliges us to postpone a notice of a letter from Arthur Tappan, Esq., dated N. York, March 26, 1833, and published in the Liberator of April 6, concerning the introduction of ardent spirits into the Colony; and a statement of the proceedings and intentions of the Board of Managers, on that subject.

LETTER FROM THE REV. MR. PINNEY.

The following letter will be perused with deep interest, it being the first communication made by a devoted missionary, who has gone to Africa under the patronage of the Western Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church. Should Mr. Pinney's life be preserved, and should he be encouraged in the belief that missionaries may be successfully established in the interior, others will doubtless follow him.

MONROVIA, Feb. 20th, 1833.

Dear Brethren of the W. F. M. Board:

By the blessing of God and the kind assistance of your Board, I have finally obtained the object of my wishes for years past. We, last Sunday, the 16th, arrived early in the morning in sight of Cape Mount, and before 7 P. M. were at anchor behind Cape Mesurado.

As yet I have not made arrangements to go into the interior, but I hope to be enabled to go speedily. Many think it is far safer to remain here till the seasoning, which all must undergo, is past. May the Lord direct to the proper course.

The voyage lasted 42 days. I preached every Sabbath *once*; and one of the Methodist or Baptist brethren usually spoke in the afternoon. Captain H. used every effort to make the voyage pleasant. Nothing was allowed, from the officers or crew, to injure the feelings of the pious. When able to sit at table, I was always requested to "ask the blessing." His wife is a member of Dr. Spring's church, N. York, and he is like the young man whom Jesus loved, very moral. May God bless my intercourse with him to his good.

If he continues in the business of bringing out emigrants, I hope your future missionaries may come out with him. I have already seen natives and heathen, and their villages are all around me in sight, and call like the man of Macedonia of old. Oh that many Pauls may see the vision and obey.

The colonists are very ignorant of every thing about the interior: except of the tribes along the coast, nothing at all is known, and of them little but their manner of traffic. Nothing has been done for the natives, hitherto, by the colonists except to educate a few who were in their families in the capacity of servants. The natives are, as to wealth and intellectual cultivation, related to the colonists as the negro of America is to the white man; and this fact, added to their mode of dress, which consists of nothing, usually, but a handkerchief around the loins, leads to the same distinction, as exists in America between *colours*. A colonist of any dye (and many there are of a darker hue than the Vey, or Dey, or Kroo, or Basso,) would, if at all respectable, think himself degraded by marrying a native. The natives are in fact menials, (I mean those in town,) and sorry am I to be obliged to say, that from my limited observation, it is evident, that as little effort is made by the colonists to elevate them, as is usually made by the higher classes in the United States, to better the condition of the lower. Such, I suppose will ever be the case, when men are not actuated by a pure desire to do good. But I most sincerely hope many of the pious and enlightened of the colored population in America, will

come here, determined to do good to Africans, not desiring their gold or silver. I think such a spirit exists amongst those who came in the Roanoke, to some extent, and of those from Charleston, I hear still better things. Many seem resolved to deviate from the course of their predecessors—may not the love of sudden wealth seduce them to “trade.” It requires no great keenness of observation, to see the cause why the Colony is not far more prosperous. But two or three hitherto, have done anything scarcely towards agriculture.—The wealthy find it easier to trade, the poor suppose it degrading.

Gov. Mechlin received me with much cordiality, and has offered (as indeed all do) to forward my journey by any means in his power. I expect to-morrow to take a trip to Caldwell, perhaps to Millsburg, to see if any way offers to enter the interior by the St. Paul’s.

If not, I may walk to King Boatwain’s town, one hundred and fifty miles north-east. I am more ready to do this from a belief that the fever and ague is unknown there. My belief is predicated on the fact, that his people, when trading down at the Colony, are almost as liable to it as emigrants, proving them unaccustomed to such a climate. I wish exceedingly that some one had been willing to accompany the mission—as two, according to the mode of travelling here, would have proceeded as *cheap as one*, and I wish much for a companion. Dear brethren, let us be strong and “go forward.” Cease not, day and night, to pray for your missionary, and the pagans around him.

The vessel sails to-day. I hope for another opportunity soon.

Yours most affectionately.

J. P. PINNEY.

CONTRIBUTIONS

To the American Col. Society, from the 15th March, to the 1st April, 1833.

Proceeds of note for \$500, discounted at Branch Bank,	494	67
Georgetown Auxiliary Colonization Society, per F. T. Seawell, Tr., 3d payment on plan of Gerrit Smith, Esq.	100	
Colonization Society of the Associated Reformed congregation of Big Spring, per J. Blean, of Newville, Pa.,	7	9
Colonization Society of Virginia, per Benjamin Brand, Treasurer, (of which one hundred dollars were paid by Wm. Crane, and one hundred by “a friend in Virginia,” their 5th payment on the plan of Gerrit Smith, Esq.),	450	
M. Nourse, Esq. of Washington, for protest, on three bills, refunded by him,	5	25
Church and congregation, in Lyme, Ohio, Rev. Mr. Conger, per Hon. Mr. Cooke,	10	
Mrs. Louisa Mercer of Fredericksburg, Va. per Mrs. E. Minor,	10	
Church and congregation of Milan, Ohio, Rev. Mr. Judson, per Hon. Mr. Cooke,	3	
D. Wood, Treasurer, 2d Presbyterian church, Albany,	6	04
Springfield, Ohio, Female Col. Soc., per A. I. Wardour, Sec. per Gen. Vance,	40	
Springfield, Ohio, Colonization Society, per do	55	18
Col. Society, of State of Connecticut, per S. Terry, Tr.,	100	
Collections by J. G. Birney, Agent,	275	37
Proceeds of note, discounted in Office of Bank U. States,	989	33
Collection by Rev. C. P. Moorman of Salisbury Circuit, N. C., at Olive Branch congregation, N. C., through Thomas McNeely, Marchville, per Mr. Beecher,	12	
James H. Marshall of Fauquier co. Va. per Rev. George Lemmon,	50	
Collection by Rev. E. Paine, in Congregational ch. Clearmont, N. H.	8	
Joseph Avery of Conway, his annual subscription,	10	
Additional donations by Mrs. Ware of Berryville, Frederick county, to be applied to the transportation of emigrants, hereafter to be named, per Rev. William M. Jackson of Berryville, Va.,	5	
Collection by Rev. John Smith, from Bethel congregation, of St. Mary’s Circuit, per Rev. Wm. Ryland,	2	80
A Lady of West River, Maryland,	100	
Proceeds of note for \$2500, discounted in Bank,	2473	75
Collection by Rev. George W. Janvier, of Pittsgrove, Salem co. N. Jersey,	11	
Robert Parker, Tr. of the New Richmond Col. Society of Ohio, as follows:—		
Collection by Rev. Daniel Parker, at Armstrong Meeting-house, Hamilton co.,	4	50
“ by Rev. Samuel Parker, in Union Township,	6	16
Contributions by ladies of New Richmond, to constitute the Rev. Joseph Denham, a life member of the Richmond Colonization Society,	5	20
Draft from Cincinnati Branch, received and deposited in Bank, 16th March,	443	
Total,	\$4809	39

The following contributions to the American and Massachusetts Colonization Societies, have been received since November 2d, 1831, by ISAAC MANSFIELD, Tr. of Massachusetts Col. Society.

Received of Rev. A. Bullard, from a lady,	\$3
“ Joseph Chickering, toward transportation,	8

Collected in Rev. Mr. Clark's Society, Rutland, - - - -	9	76	
“ Milbury, at the celebration, July 4th, - - - -	17	60	
“ Sabbath school of the 1st Presbyterian Society, Millbury, - - - -	7	50	
Donation from Hon. Daniel Waldo, Worcester, - - - -	100		
“ from the fund of the Worcester co. Aux. Society, - - - -	13	74	— 250
Collected in Rev. Mr. Church's Society, in Calais, Me., - - - -			12
“ Lyman Colman's Soc., in Belchertown, Ms., - - - -			26
Received of a friend, by hands of J. B. - - - -			20
Collected in Rev. Mr. Steel's Society, Sandwichtown, - - - -			4 50
“ “ Seagrave's Society, North Scituate, - - - -			4 41
“ “ Mann's “ Westminster, - - - -			14 21
“ “ J. B. Felt, Hamilton, Essex co., - - - -			6
“ “ T. Shephard, Ashfield, 4th July, - - - -			6 50
“ “ T. Robbins, Mattapoiset, Rochester, Ms., - - - -			13
“ “ Fisher's Society, Blue Hill, Me., - - - -			15 66
“ “ D. Wait's Soc., Cumington, - - - -	\$5	00	
deduct postage, - - - -	13		— 4 87
“ “ Harris' Soc., Hyannis, Ms., - - - -			12 08
“ Congregational Soc., North Brookfield, - - - -			25
“ Rev. Elijah Dexter's Soc., Plymton, - - - -			8 77
“ “ Daniel Crosby's Soc., (East and South) Conway, - - - -			21
“ “ Dr. Ripley's Soc., Concord, Ms., - - - -			24
“ “ Dr. P. Colby's Soc., North Middleboro - - - -			12
“ “ H. Goodwin's “ New Marlboro, Ms., - - - -			9
The following sums received of Charles G. Prentiss, Tr. of Worcester co. Auxiliary Colonization Society, viz:—			
Collected in Rev. Mr. Winch's Soc., Paxton, - - - -	\$6		
“ “ Park's “ Southbridge, - - - -	10		
“ “ Bardwell's “ Holden, - - - -	9	34	
“ in Sabbath school in “ - - - -		10	09
“ by Rev. James Francis' Soc., Dudley, - - - -		21	75
“ in Sabbath school, “ - - - -		10	35
Of these two last sums, \$30 is to constitute the Rev. J. H. Francis, a life member of the American Col. Soc.			
“ in Rev. A. Fisher's Soc., Southbridge, - - - -	5		
“ “ J. Walker's Soc., Sutton, - - - -	4	60	
“ “ E. Demond's “ Lincoln, - - - -	4	36	— 81 49
“ “ Samuel Stearns' Society, Bedford, Massachusetts, - - - -			16 28
“ “ T. F. Waterman's Society, Providence, R. Island, - - - -			21
“ “ Mr. Bliphant's “ Beverly, Massachusetts, - - - -			21
“ “ F. P. Howland's “ Hanson, - - - -			2 27
“ “ H. J. Ripley, his donation, (Newton, Ms.) - - - -			5
“ Congregational Soc., South Reading, - - - -			15 12
“ 1st Baptist Soc., North Middleboro, - - - -			4 25
“ Society of Rev. S. Nott, Jr., Wareham, Ms., - - - -			7 84
Contributed by a few individuals, West Parish, Medway, - - - -			4 56
Collected in 1st Congrega'l. and Baptist Socs. Methuen, Ms. by Rev. S. G. Pearce, Pastor of Congregational Society, and Rev. C. O. Kimball, pastor of Baptist Society, - - - -			32 25
Collected in Rev. E. Sandford's Soc., Raynham, - - - -			8
“ “ B. Woodbury's Society, Falmouth, Ms., - - - -			10 58
“ Sabbath schools in Haverhill, - - - -	28	05	
deduct postage, - - - -	13		— 27 92
“ Rev. Mr. Clark's Soc., Sherburne, Ms., - - - -			12
“ Sabbath school, in 2d Congregational Soc., Chelmsford, Ms., - - - -			5 06
“ Rev. Mr. Holmes' Soc, New Bedford, one-half for the Col. Society, and one-half for the Education Society, - - - -			11 91
“ Rev. Mr. Cleavland's Soc., Salem, - - - -			29 45
“ “ Henry Lord's Soc., Williamsburg, Ms., - - - -			14 58
Received through the Hampshire Christian Depository:			
Collected in Plainfield, Ms., - - - -	\$9		
“ West Parish, Granby, - - - -	20		
“ 1st “ “ - - - -	15	50	
“ East Hampton, - - - -	10	59	
“ West Hampton, - - - -	8	31	
“ Worthington, - - - -	5		
Donation of J. L. Pomeroy of Worthington, - - - -	10		— 78 40
Received of J. Bachellor, Esq., Lynn, Ms., - - - -			8
Collected in Rev. Mr. Moore's Society, Natick, - - - -			8 93
Received of W. by hands of J. Tappan, Esq., - - - -			2
Collected in Rev. Mr. Smith's Society, Warwick, - - - -			3
“ Augustus B. Reed's “ Ware, - - - -			6

Received by hands of Seth Kelly, Esq., South Yarmouth, the following sums, collected by Simeon Crowell, by subscription for the Colonization Society:			
Simeon Crowell,	-	-	\$2
Seth Kelley,	-	-	5
A friend,	-	-	5
A friend,	-	-	5
Job Chase,	-	-	2 50
Barnabas Sears,	-	-	1
Rowland Lewis,	-	-	1
G. Nickerson,	-	-	1 50
Zeno Kelley,	-	-	3
P. Gifford,	-	-	1
Daniel Wing,	-	-	1
David K. Aikin,	-	-	1
Collected in Rev. E. Leonard's Society, Marshfield, Ms.,	-	-	3 12
" " Mr. Howe's " Halifax, "	-	-	16 39
Received of Charles G. Prentiss, Tr. Worcester co. Aux. Soc.			
Collected in Rev. J. Briggs' Society, Athol,	-	-	7 76
" J. Allen " Northboro,	-	-	15
" Mr. Gay's " Hubbardston,	-	-	6 70
" J. Green's " Leicester,	-	-	4 25
" O. Herrick's " Millbury,	-	-	12
" M. Stone's " Brookfield,	-	-	6 11
Annual contribution of Mrs. H. Goodell, Millbury,	-	-	20
Received from a friend by Rev. Dr. Bancroft,	-	-	5
Collected in Rev. Mr. Tappan's Soc., Hardwick,	-	-	12 62
" " Barbour's " Byfield,	-	-	7 03
Received of Mrs. Rebecca and Mary Kitteridge, of Tewksbury,	-	-	10
Collected in Rev. L. Bailey's Soc., Medway,	-	-	21 45
" Mr. Freeman's Society, Plymouth, to constitute him a life member,	-	-	30
Received of Sabbath school, in Grace ch., Boston,	-	-	6 04
Collected in Baptist ch., in Middlefield,	-	-	5 27
Received through the Hampshire ch. depository, of a friend in Rev. Mr. Moody's Society, Granby,	-	-	5
Collected in Congregational and Baptist Socs., in Morristown, Vt.	-	-	4 70
" 4th Baptist ch., and Society, in Middleboro, Ms.,	-	-	3 25
Received of the Sabbath school children, in Ashburnham,	-	-	1 56
" Rev. Mr. White's Soc., Littleton, Ms.,	-	-	11
" J. S. Adams, Tr., Middlesex, North, and vicinity, Charitable Society, collected in Groton, Ms.,	-	-	8 95
" " Bolton, Ms.,	-	-	24
" Messrs. Noyes and Lambert, Executors of the last Will and Testament, of Mr. Aaron Woodman, of Boston, deceased, being 25 per cent. upon and in addition to the original Legacy to the American Colonization Society,	-	-	125
Received of Mrs. Anna P. Sanger, Tr. of the Sherburne Col. Soc. for the Massachusetts Col. Society,	-	-	6
Received of a friend by hands of J. Butler,	-	-	20
" Rev. S. Bailey's Soc., Medway,	-	-	14 23
" Mr. Maltby's " Taunton,	-	-	6 09
" E. S. Clark's " Winchenden,	-	-	7
" B. Smith's " Rye, Me.,	-	-	2 10
" Baptist ch., Howard, Ms.,	-	-	6 76
" West Parish, Granby, Ms.,	-	-	6 30
" H. Miller, Treasurer, of Worcester co. Charitable Association, collected in Sutton,	-	-	19 61
" by hands of J. Tappan, Esq., contributed by W.,	-	-	2
" Rev. Ebenezer Burgess, annual subscription for 1833,	-	-	100
Total	-	-	\$2422 40

The following sums were received for the African Repository, viz:

Received of J. Parker, his subscription for 1832,	-	-	\$2
" Washington Hotchkins, Lenox, Ms., for 1831,	-	-	2
" Simonds and Chamberlain, for one year,	-	-	2
" H. Sessions, for Repository,	-	-	4
" Rev. Mr. Stearns, East Haverhill,	-	-	8
" Mr. O. Carpenter, of Easton, his subscription to Repository,	-	-	2
" Cyrus Davis, Concord, Ms., his subscription,	-	-	2
" Rev. Dr. A. Sherman, Suffield, Con., his subscription to Rep.,	-	-	2
Total	-	-	\$2446 40

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